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JAGANNĀTHA CULT

ORIGIN, RITUALS, FESTIVALS, RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

(A Critical Study of Sthaḷa Purāṇa, 'Nīlādri Mahodayam')

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BIDYUT LATA RAY

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ABOUT THE BOOK

The temple of Jagannātha at Puri is one of the greatest religious shrines in India. The mystery behind the origin of the deity, the formation of Trinity and the observance of the various festivals round the year has inspired the scholars to take up active research in the different aspects of this religious institution. Moreover, the rituals performed at the temple of Lord Jagannātha are firmly embedded in tradition and antiquity, and as such, they have generated a rare degree of curiosity among the scholars, both alien and indigenous, who have made efforts to explore many new and startling facts regarding the deities and the cult at large.

Different scholars have opined differently regarding the origin and development of Jagannātha-triad and the cult as a whole. Basing on the historical background of the cult, many of them have endeavoured to trace it down to its origin. They have completely overlooked the vast field of purāṇic material as well as the traditional legends. Critical study of such purāṇic material hints at the bottom of the cult and opens up innumerable authentic facts regarding the origin of Lord Jagannātha.

In this work, the author tries to trace the origin, development, rituals and festivals, religion and philosophy of the Jagannātha Cult, as enlightened in *Sthaḷa Purāṇa* '*Nīlādri Mahodayam*'. '*Nīlādri Mahodayam*', composed after 'Utkala Khaṇḍa' of the *Skanda Purāṇa* and in the later part of the 14th century A.D., is a monumental work on the cult of Jagannātha and the deities of temples. It records a detailed account of the modes of worship, the rituals and the festivals associated with Lord Jagannātha, and also the religion and philosophy of the cult. This work is so important that even today the daily worship of the Lord is performed in accordance with the methods and procedures laid therein.

The temple of Lord Jagannātha at Puri observes a number of festivals and ceremonies throughout the year. The author has provided a detailed account of

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लेखक RAY, BIJOYA LATA
शीर्षक Jagannath cult: Origin, Rituals, Festivals, Religion & Philosophy

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PREFACE

The temple of Jagannātha at Puri is one of the greatest religious monuments in India. It is situated near the sea-coast of Puri and the site of the temple is known as *Śrī-Kṣetra* or *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra* on account of its great sanctity. It is also known as *Śaṁkha-Kṣetra* in Purāṇas.[1] This *Kṣetra* is hallowed from time immemorial and sheerly on that account is held in high esteem as one of pan-Indian Hindu religious centres. Its impact on the psyche of the Hindus and on their corporate as well as personal religious life is conspicuous.

The shrine of Jagannātha has become a centre of attraction for the pilgrims. The mystery behind the origin of the deity, the formation of Trinity and the observance of the various festivals round the year has inspired the scholars to take up active research in the different aspects of this religious institution. Moreover, the rituals performed in the temple of Lord Jagannātha are firmly embedded in tradition and antiquity, and as such they have generated a rare degree of curiosity among the scholars, both alien and indigenous, who have made efforts to explore many new and startling facts regarding the deities and the cult at large.

The images of the deities, as some scholars maintain, are a rendering of the abstract Vedāntic *Brahma* into the concept of '*DĀRU BRAHMA*' blended with the faiths of different Hindu sects like the Vaiṣṇavas, Śaivas, Śāktas, Gāṇapatyas and the Sauras. According to some others, Jagannātha Cult has also embraced the followers of Jainism and Buddhism. Further, the Mahimā Dharma Sect, an autochthonous Hindu reform movement of the hinterland of Orissa made its first spectacular appearance in 1881 when a few followers of the new sect tried to force their way into the temple of Puri in order to burn the 'old' statue of Jagannātha with the claim to be the adherents of the new and future Jagannātha. Mahimā Dharma is an example for the emergence of a traditional regional reform movement whose appearance, in contrast to the so-called neo-Hindu movements, till now has hardly received any attention. These different faiths arise due to the fact that the epigraphical accounts are not so conclusive to adhere to any one of the above sects.

The formative phase of the deities of Puri temple is wrapped of in mystery. So also the study of the cult is equally plausible. During the period when the wooden image or images of Jagannātha were accepted in the Hinduistic fold, the most popular Viṣṇu images in Orissa were also accepted in the Hinduistic fold. The most popular Viṣṇu images in Orissa were those of Mādhava, who was also known as Nīlamādhava since these statues were carved out of the black chlorite—black or blue being the bodily hue of Viṣṇu. Mādhava is standing form of Viṣṇu with four arms in which he holds a conch, a mace, a lotus and a discus respectively.[2] A number of such statues belonging to the 8th to 10th centuries have been found and excavated in the valley of the river Prācī not far from Puri.[3] These Mādhava images form the base for the worshippers of Jagannātha to think that Nīlamādhava was the most common form of Viṣṇu in those days. They claimed and propagated that Lord Jagannātha was originally a Nīlamādhava of stone which stood under the shade of a tree and was worshipped by Viśvāvasu, the Chief of the Śabara race. But when Vidyāpati, the Brahmin priest of the court of the King Indradyumna discovered Him once, He vanished and appeared in a dream to the King

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Indradyumna expressing that He would appear in the form of a *Dāru* (wood) in the east sea near 'Nīlācala'. The dream further goes to mention that the Lord wanted to be worshipped as a Deity made of that wood.[4]

More general studies begin with an analysis of the development of the philosophical concept of Puruṣottama (Jagannātha's predecessor) in the all-Indian Sanskrit texts which emphasize the erotic aspect of Puruṣottama and its relationship with Viṣṇu's incarnation Narasiṁha. Inscriptional and archaeological evidence and the contemporary rituals in the hinterland of Puri and within the Jagannātha Cult also give Narasiṁha a dominant role in the Vaiṣṇava typology of Hinduization and consequently in the early development of Jagannātha Cult. For a different view, however, H.V. Stietencron[5] who contends that none of the Mādhava images of Prācī valley is older than 10th century and who advocates in the favour of the Śaiva component of the evolution of Lord Jagannātha. He has emphasized on the Ekapāda Bhairava images of Orissa as the origin of the Lord. Obviously, Narasiṁha's role as a predecessor of Jagannātha is contested with reference to the Ekapāda Bhairava.

Besides, Lord Jagannātha is widely accepted as Viṣṇu himself from whom Kṛṣṇa has been incarnated. In other words, he is not an incarnation but the incarnator himself. That Jagannātha is the *avatārin* from whom all the ten *avatāras* have emanated, is propagated vigorously in the 17th century also by the poets like Dīnakṛṣṇadāsa in his *Rasakallola* and especially by Divākaradāsa in his *Jagannātha-Caritāmṛta*[6] who declares Kṛṣṇa to be only the 16th part (one kalā) of Lord Jagannātha. According to him, "many millions of *avatāras* emerge out of the body of Jagannātha and get merged into Him again who is the highest Brahman himself". He remains unchanged and unaffected by these incarnations since he is the substance which lies beyond the field of incarnations. Manifesting that it is not the outwardly form of the deity that matters, but her intrinsic philosophical character, he majestically stands there on his throne and sarcastically smiles at the vain efforts of the mortals who try to unveil his 'mystery', and hence view him from the different angles by standing on the respective altars of their arguments.

Eminent scholars who have tried to trace the remote origin of Lord Jagannātha and its cult both literally and historically are W.H. Hunter, A.S. Sterling, M.M. Sadasiva Mishra of Puri, R.L. Mitra, M.M. Ganguli, R.D. Banerjee, Pandit N.K. Das, Pandit K.N. Mahapatra, Dr. N.K. Sahoo, Dr. H.K. Mahatab, Pandit S.N. Das, Dr. Benimadhava Padhi, Gurudas Sarkar, Dr. D.C. Sircar, Prof. P. Mukherjee, Dr. K.C. Mishra, Dr.(Miss) Anncharlott Eschmann, H. Kulke, H.V. Stietencron, Dr. G.C. Tripathy and Dr. G.N. Mahapatra, etc. General Cunningham[7], Prof. Willson[8], Dr. Mahatab[9], James Ferguson[10] and N.N. Bose[11] have worked on the Buddhist origin of Lord Jagannātha. They are of the opinion that the trinity symbolizes the Tri-Ratna of Buddhism. Other scholars like Pandit Nilakantha Das,[12] K.N. Mahapatra[13] and Pandit Binayak Mishra[14] firmly believe that Jagannātha symbolizes a Jain deity. There are some others whose arguments go in favour of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva form of Lord Jagannātha. The notable ones among them are Peterson,[15] M.M. Ganguli,[16] Prof. P.Mukherjee,[17] M.M. Sadasiva Mishra[18] and Pandit S.N. Das.[19] They say that Jagannātha is a Brāhmaṇical deity. According to Dr. Benimadhava Padhi, the evolution of Lord Jagannātha is deeply rooted in the tree-worship prevailed among the aboriginal tribes, specially the Śabaras.[20] Dr. K.C. Mishra and Dr. G.N. Mahapatra suggest that Jagannātha is a Viṣṇuite

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deity.[21] Reputed scholars like Eschmann, Kulke and G.C. Tripathi[23] assume that the Jagannātha figure developed from the Hinduization of the tribal deity which was first represented through a wooden post god. The subsequent changes as suggested by them are from wooden post god to wooden pillar-goddess (*Khambheśvarī*), then it assumes the character of Narasiṁha owing to its iconographical features and owing to the appearance of Viṣṇuism in Orissa, thereafter the worship of the Lakṣmī-Nṛsiṁha pair which is in a later development conceived as Puruṣottama, a particular Viṣṇuite-Tāntric deity. After a couple of decades, the pair is converted to a triad. Consisting of Kṛṣṇa (Jagannātha), Ekānaṁśā (Subhadrā) and Balabhadra (Śiva) and the trinity retains essentially its Viṣṇuite character. Finally, the worship of the pillar-post in the name Sudarśana is again introduced into the combination in order to recollect the remote origin of the cult. Sudarśana takes the form of a straight pole which becomes the *Calanti Pratimā* (the movable image) of Narasiṁha, i.e., of the present Jagannātha.

Thus, different scholars have opined differently regarding the origin and development of Jagannātha-triad and the cult as a whole. Basing on the historical background of the cult, many of them have endeavoured to trace it down to its origin. They have completely overlooked the vast field of purāṇic material as well as the traditional legends with a clue that these sources provide unscientific evidences. But, in reality, the critical study of such massive material hints at the bottom of the cult and opens up innumerable authentic facts regarding the origin of Lord Jagannātha. A striking and unique work in this field has been done only by Dr. G.N. Mahapatra[24] who has tried to mention the correct aspects of the evolution of Lord Jagannātha by critically analysing the purāṇic material embodied in the *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra-Māhātmyam* of *Skanda-Purāṇa.* This work essentially narrates the pre-historic tradition of Jagannātha, the legends and the historical aspects. Likewise, we find a lot of references about *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra* and its deities in many other Purāṇas, viz., *Matsya, Viṣṇu, Agni, Padma, Nārada* and *Brahma.*[25] Among the Sanskrit texts composed in Orissa and fully devoted to the antiquity of Lord Jagannātha, the *Puruṣottama-Māhātmyam* (or the *Vaiṣṇava-Khaṇḍa*) of *Skanda-Purāṇa* stands first on the way. Besides, the purāṇic literature of Orissa also pays importance to the works like *Kapila-Saṁhitā, Mukti-Cintāmaṇi, Nīlādri-Mahodayam, Bāmadeva-Saṁhitā* and *Gopālārcana-Vidhiḥ*, etc., on account of their novel features on the Cult of Jagannātha and the deities of Puri temple. *Gopālārcana-Vidhiḥ* of Puruṣottamadeva is the most standard work on the Pūjā of Jagannātha-Kṛṣṇa while the *Sthaḷa-Purāṇa Nīlādri-Mahodayam* records a detailed account of the modes of worship, the rituals and the festivals associated with Puruṣottama Jagannātha. The latter of the two works was composed in the 14th century after the model of the *Puruṣottama-Māhātmyam* of *Skanda-Purāṇa* and contains in it 91 Chapters (*Adhyāyas*). This unedited text, though, first appeared in 1922 in Oriya characters, is so far left unstudied by the scholars. Now, I have taken up such a noble task of critically editing and analysing the text of this voluminous work which supplies many new and meticulous facts to the field of Jagannātha Cult. I have separated the edition part from the study structure of my work and accordingly prepared two separate volumes for the present thesis. This volume includes the critical analysis of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* basing on the following chapters :

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1. Introduction.
2. The date of *Nīlādri-Mahodayam.*
3. Historical geography of Utkala during the time of *Nīlādri-Mahodayam.*
4. Socio-cultural reference in *Nīlādri-Mahodayam.*
5. Festivals and their significances.
6. Mode of worship.
7. Philosophy and religion as depicted in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam.*

I have added to these chapters two short appendices, one after the 3rd chapter and the other after the 5th chapter. The topics of the appendices are :

1. The deities and the places of *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra* as recorded in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam.*
2. Navakalevara.

In the first chapter, I have sincerely tried to introduce the text of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* into the field of purāṇic literature and I have presented a brief outline of the literary and historical evidences discovered so far for the investigation of the origin and development of Jagannātha Cult.

The second chapter is fully devoted to trace the date of composition of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam.* Here, I have taken into account all the internal evidences of the text and most of the external evidences, which come on the way of ascertaining the period of composition of the Purāṇa.

The third chapter deals with the historical geography of Oḍra country during the time of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam.* Attempts have been made to correctly represent the then geography of Utkal and its allied territories on the basis of the place-names, rivers, mountains, lakes and cultural centres occurred in this Purāṇa.

In the fourth chapter, I have discussed the society and its culture as figured in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam.* It is found that the present Purāṇa, like the other purāṇic texts, is a rich source of social life and the cultural activities of the people of its time. Certainly, this Purāṇa offers a comprehensive picture of the way of life of the then Orissan people.

The speciality of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* lies in its chapters (*adhyāyas*) devoted to describe the festivals of Lord Jagannātha. I have thoroughly gone through all these *adhyāyas* of the Purāṇa and consequently, in the fifth chapter of this work, I have discussed the mode of observance of these festivals in the Puri-Temple. Serious investigations have been made in this line to draw the significance of each festival which, being the mirror image of the social life of the Oriyas, contains in it the chief antiquity of Jagannātha Cult. Such a study is the new and a fresh contribution of mine to the field of cultural heritage of Orissa.

In the sixth chapter, I have discussed the mode of worship of Jagannātha-triad as depicted in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam.* This gives a comprehensive picture of all the rituals and worships performed in the temple of Lord Jagannātha. The Purāṇa also describes in detail the daily pūjā manuals of Lord Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā. At present, the temple servants

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and the Pūjakas follow such manuals as prescribed in this Purāṇa. The mode of worship of Jagannātha reminds us his character as Viṣṇuite deity.

The last seventh chapter of the thesis deals with the philosophy and religion of the cult as viewed from the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*. My keen investigation on the subject prove that Jagannātha is out and out a Viṣṇu Devatā. Our Puṛāṇa marks no difference among Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa, Vāsudeva and Jagannātha and at the same time eulogizes the ten incarnations of Lord Jagannātha.

The first of the two appendices includes topics which are intimately connected with the identifications of the temple sculptures of *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra*. The second appendix is found necessary to describe the Navakalevara ceremony of Lord Jagannātha. Our Purāṇa, the '*Nīlādri-Mahodayam*' omits such a special ceremony which is not found in any other temple of India. Sincere efforts have been made here to culminate all the facts regarding this unique festival which does not occur every year. It is observed in order to renew the wooden structures of the deities of Puri-Temple. It generally comes after twelve years or after a time interval of some years when the renewal of the wooden images becomes unavoidable.

Thus, I may humbly state that, I have approached the different subjects of my dissertation from many points of view in my own way and within my limits.

It is my pleasant duty at this place to record my sincere gratefulness to the following institutions without whose constructive help and support this work could not have come into being. These are : The India Office Library and Records, London; The Indian National Library, Calcutta; Shri Venkatesvara Press, Bombay; The Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar; Śrī Jagannātha Temple Administration Office, Puri; The Utkal University Library, Bhubaneswar; The State Archives, Bhubaneswar; The Board of Revenue, Cuttack; The Geography Department, Utkal University, Bhubaneswar and the Udayapur Library, Nayagarh, Puri. I am specially thankful to the authorities of Utkal University who have permitted me to register myself for the Degree of Doctorate in Philosophy in Sanskrit.

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Bidyutlata Ray

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24. Mahapatra, G.N., The Land of Viṣṇu, 1979, the whole thesis.
25. *Viṣṇu*, I, XV, 52; *Agni*, Ch.63; *Padma*, Ch.158, Sl.1-6 and Ch.18; *Nārada*, Ch.52, Sl.41-93 and *Brahma*, Ch.48.

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SCHEME OF TRANSLITERATION

While quoting the original Sanskrit works and also various technical terms and phrases, the following mode of transliteration is adopted in the present work.

अ	आ	इ	ई	उ	ऊ	ऋ	ऌ	ए	ऐ	ओ	औ
a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	ṛ	ḷ	e	ai	o	au
क्	ख्	ग्	घ्	ङ	च्	छ्	ज्	झ्	ञ	ट्	ठ्
k	kh	g	gh	ṅ	c	ch	j	jh	ñ	ṭ	ṭh
ड्	ढ्	ण्	त्	थ्	द्	ध्	न्	प्	फ्	ब्	भ्
ḍ	ḍh	ṇ	t	th	d	dh	n	p	ph	b	bh
म्	य्	र्	ल्	व्	श्	ष्	स्	ह्	ळ		
m	y	r	l	v	ś	ṣ	s	h	ḷ		

(Anusvāra) : (Visarga)

ṁ ḥ

MODE OF CITATIONS

In case of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, citations are given by reference to *Adhyāyas* (Chapters), *Ślokas* (Verses) and the lines in the *Ślokas*. Both the *Adhyāyas* and the *Ślokas* are quoted by the arithmetic numbers, such as 1, 2, 3, 4 ..... etc.; but the references to the *Adhyāyas* and the *Ślokas* have been separated by a dot - the first number referring to the *Adhyāya* and the second to the verse. The lines in the verses are cited by the small letters of English starting from 'a'. The first line in a verse is represented by the letter 'a' and the subsequent lines by the letters b, c, d ..... etc. To take an example, in 5.21a, the first figure refers to the *Adhyāya* (i.e., fifth *Adhyāya*), the second to the *Śloka* (i.e., twenty-first *Śloka*) and the last to the line in the verse (i.e., first line). Hence, 5.21a represents the first line of twenty-first *Śloka* of the fifth *Adhyāya*.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.B.O.R.I.	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
A.I.H.I.	Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, Pargiter.
A.R.	Asiatic Researches.
A.S.S.	Anandāśrama Sanskrit Series.
B.I.	Bibliotheca Indica.
B.O.D.G.	Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers.
B.R.	Board of Revenue.
B.R.A.	Board of Revenue Archives, Cuttack.
B.R.P.	Bengal Revenue Proceedings.
C.A.G.I.	Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India.
C.H.V.P.	Cultural History from the Vāyu Purāṇa, D.R. Patil.
C.I.I.	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
C.J.	Cult of Jagannātha, K.C. Mishra.
C.J.R.T.O.	The Cult of Jagannātha and the Regional Tradition of Orissa, Eschmann, Kulke & G.C. Tripathy.
E.C.	Epigraphia Carnatica, Bangalore.
E.I.	Epigraphia Indica, Calcutta.
G.K.O.	Gajapati Kings of Orissa, P. Mukherjee.
G.P.A.	Garuḍa Purāṇa Eka Adhyayana, Dr. A.B.L. Awasthi.
H.D.S.	History of Dharma Śāstra, P.V. Kane.
H.G.D.H.O.	Historical Geography and Dynastic History of Orissa, D.K. Ganguly.
H.H.M.I.	History of Hindu Medieval India, C.V. Vaidya.
H.J.T.	History of Jagannātha Temple in the 19th Century, P. Mukherjee.
H.M.V.O.	History of Medieval Vaiṣṇavism in Orissa, P. Mukherjee.
H.O.	History of Orissa, Part II, Dr. H.K. Mahatab.
I.A.	Indian Antiquary.
I.H.Q.	Indian Historical Quarterly.
I.O.	Inscriptions of Orissa, S.N. Rajaguru.
J.A.H.R.S.	Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society.
J.A.S.B.	Journal of Asiatic Society, Bengal.
J.B.B.R.A.S.	Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society.

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J.B.O.R.S.	Journal of Bihar Orissa Research Society.
J.I.H.	Journal of Indian History, Trivandrum.
J.M.	Jagannātha Māhātmyam.
J.R.A.S.	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.
J.T.C.	Jagannātha Temple Correspondence.
J.U.P.H.S.	Journal of Uttar Pradesh Historical Society.
K.I.	Khurudhā Itihāsa, Pt. K.N. Mahapatra.
L.V.	The Land of Viṣṇu, Dr. G.N. Mahapatra.
Mbh.	Mahābhārata.
MSS	Manuscripts.
N.M.	Nīlādri-Mahodayam.
O.H.R.	Orissa and Her Remains, M.M. Ganguli.
O.H.R.J.	Orissa Historical Research Journal.
O.I.	Oḍiśā Itihāsa, Dr. H.K. Mahatab.
O.S.A.	Orissa State Archives, Bhubaneswar.
P.M.	Puruṣottama Māhātmyam of Skanda-Purāṇa.
R.J.A.	Record of Rights prepared under the Puri Śrī Jagannātha Temple (Administration) Act (Orissa Act XIV of 1952).
S.G.A.M.I.	Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, D.C. Sircar.
S.H.C.O.	Side-lights on History and Culture of Orissa, Edited by Prof. M.N. Das.
S.I.I.	South Indian Inscriptions.
S.P.S.V.R.	A Socio-political Study of the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, Dr. Ramasraya Sarma.
S.S.	Śrīmandira Samācāra.
S.S.P.	Studies in Skanda-Purāṇa, Dr. A.B.L. Awasthi.
U.U.H.O.	Utkal University History of Orissa.
V.I.	Vedic Indica.
V.I.J.	Viśveśvarānanda Indological Journal, Hoshiarpur, Punjab.

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CHAPTER - 1
INTRODUCTION

OUTLINES ON THE NĪLĀDRI-MAHODAYAM

Long since *Puruṣottam-Kṣetra*, the sacred abode of Lord Viṣṇu known as Śrī Jagannātha, has been described in various Sanskrit texts such as the *Padma-Purāṇa, Nārada-Purāṇa, Matsya-Purāṇa, Brahma-Purāṇa, Garuḍa-Purāṇa* and the *Skanda-Purāṇa* etc. According to some scholars the references to this sacred *Kṣetra* are also found in *Ṛg Veda* and *Mahābhārata*. In *Skanda-Purāṇa, Vaiṣṇava Khaṇḍa*, there is a portion dealing with this *Kṣetra*, known as *Puruṣottama-Māhātmyam*. This has been critically studied by Dr. G.N. Mahapatra under the title 'The Land of Viṣṇu'. Now, the existence of a *Sthaḷa-Purāṇa*, dealing with the same aspect, known as *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* containing ninety-one chapters (adhyāyas), has been discovered. It is therefore our privilege to introduce this Purāṇa to the scholars of the world.

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* was compiled after the model of the *Puruṣottama-Māhātmyam* of the *Skanda-Purāṇa*.[1] But its speciality lies in giving detailed description about the various festivals of Lord Jagannātha and the mode of their observances. It also supplies a lot of information about the daily *pūjā-paddhati* or mode of worship of Jagannātha and other subsidiary deities. This purāṇa not only gives evidences on the ritualistic performances in the temple of Lord Jagannātha, but also clearly depicts the Orissan Culture along with the festivals of Lord Jagannātha. This work is so important that even now the worship of the Lord is performed in accordance with the procedure laid down here. This purāṇa has its importance on the point of view of history also.

The Sanskrit works which refer to *Puruṣottama-dhāma* and the deities - Puruṣottama, Subhadrā and Balabhadra, are *Bārhaspatya-Sūtram, Kapila-Saṁhitā, Tīrtha-Cintāmaṇi, Kṣetra-Māhātmya, Nīlādri-Mahodayam, Puruṣottama-Candrikā, Rudrayāmala, Tantrayāmala, Puruṣottama-Tattva, Saubhāgya-Mañjūṣā* etc. Excepting *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, all these works describe *Puruṣottama* more or less in the same manner as does the author of the *Skanda-Purāṇa*. In the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, however, we get a detailed account of rituals and festivals associated with the worship of Puruṣottama - Jagannātha.[2] After the story of the temple construction in the *Skanda-Purāṇa*, mention is made of the advent of *Saptadhā-mūrti* or the seven images.[3] These seven images are Puruṣottama - Jagannātha, Balabhadra, Subhadrā, Sudarśana, Mādhava, Śrīdevī and Bhūdevī. The latter three are additions to the company of the four main deities, already mentioned in the *Skanda-Purāṇa*. The intention of the author of *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* was perhaps to make the *Puruṣottamapīṭha* known as the *Saptāvaraṇa-pīṭha* in order to bring it in accordance with the *Vaikuṇṭha-dhāma* as *Saptāvaraṇa* in the *Tāpinīs*.[4] The author of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* furnishes us with interesting details regarding the respective colour and forms of the deities which we do not find in earlier texts. While giving the iconographic features of the images of Śrī-Jagannātha and others, the main image is described as dark cloud in colour and with eyes round and long as lotus-leaf.[5] Unlike the description given in the *Skanda-purāṇa*, this text endows Jagannātha and Balabhadra with two

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arms (the other two being concealed).[6] Balabhadra is referred to as *guptapāda*, or with the feet concealed and with a head covered by the seven-hooded serpent; his colour is said to be as white as the Kunda-flower or the moon or the conch, and he is also said to possess of lotus-like eyes.[7] Subhadrā is said to have hands stretched down and a body of saffron hue.[8] Sudarśana is described as pillar-shaped and Vijitendriya or the one who has controlled the senses.[9] The rest of the images Mādhava, Lakṣmī, Viśvadhātri are described as miniature figures with usual attributes.[10]

According to *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, the image of Jagannātha is based on *Cakra-yantra.*[11] The significance of prescribing the *Cakra-yantra* for Jagannātha is evident from the colour of Cakra as well as that of the deity, and the name Cakradhārī given to Jagannātha. The image of Balabhadra is based on *Śaṁkha-yantra*[12] and that of Subhadrā is based on *Padma-yantra.*[13] The Sudarśana is based on Gadā-yantra.[14] The *Utkala-khaṇḍa* of *Skanda-Purāṇa* describes Lord Puruṣottama as '*Praṇavarupi*' and His *Mantra* is praṇava.[15] The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* also supports this by explaining the idea more elaborately.[16]

After the end of each chapter (adhyāya) of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, the author of the purāṇa writes, *"Iti Śrī-Sūta-Saṁhitāyām Nīlādri-Mahodaye....."* which demands its inclusion in *Sūta-Saṁhitā.* Being a model of the *Puruṣottama-Māhātmyam (Vaiṣṇava-Khaṇḍa)* of *Skanda-Purāṇa,* the date of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* comes after the composition of *Vaiṣṇava-Khaṇḍa* of *Skanda-purāṇa.* The date of the *Puruṣottama-Māhātmyam*, has already been fixed by Dr. G.N. Mahapatra in his thesis.[17] He places it within 7th to 8th century A.D., although other scholars like K.N. Mahapatra[18] and Dr. G.C. Tripathi[19] have believed that this purāṇa was composed in the 13th century. According to H.V. Stietencron,[20] the *Utkala-Khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda-Purāṇa* was composed in the early 14th century. However, the date of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* is sometime after the *Puruṣottama-Māhātmyam* of *Skanda-Purāṇa*, since this purāṇa was composed after the model of the *Puruṣottama-Māhātmyam* of *Skanda-Purāṇa.* The date assigned by Dr. G.N. Mahapatra to the *Puruṣottama-Māhātmyam* of *Skanda-Purāṇa* seems to be more authentic as it is based on keen investigation of the internal and external evidences collected by the scholar. From various considerations, the date of composition of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* as drawn by me in the next chapter goes back to the later part of 14th century A.D. and specifically comes after 1360 A.D.

This purāṇa includes altogether sixty festivals of Lord Jagannātha. These festivals are Snānotsava, Ratha-Yātrā, Śayanotsava, Ayanotsavas, Pārśva-parivartana, Utthāpana-Utsava, Prāvaraṇa, Puṣyābhiṣeka, Dolotsava, Damana-bhañjikā, Akṣayatṛtīyā, Netrotsava, Herā-pañcamī, Bāhuḍā-Yātrā, door-closing function, Garuḍa-Śayana, Baladeva-janma, Durgā-janmotsava, Lakṣmī-Vrata, Vāmana-janma, Śakradhvajotsava, Sahasra-Kumbhābhiṣeka of Durgā, Kārttika-Vrata, Lakṣmī-Dāmodara-pūjā, Navānna-Utsava, Dvipotsava, Vahni-Utsava, Uttarāyaṇa-Yātrā, Basanta-pañcamī, Rāma-janmotsava, Candana-Yātrā, Nṛsiṁha-janmotsava, Kṛṣṇasyābhiṣekaḥ, Rukmiṇī-haraṇa and finally the enjoyment of Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇī.[21]

The society figured in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* mainly consisted of two categories of people - the king and the subjects. Both the classes were helpful to each other. This purāṇa supplies information regarding the Vaṁśa or clan by referring to putras and pautras (sons and

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grand-sons)[22]. It mentions the enlargement of a Vaṁśa by hearing the 'Smarabīja-mantra' recited in the Jagannātha-temple.[23] Brahmā himself has declared that the King Indradyumna is his fifth generation.[24] The four-fold division of the society into the Brāhmaṇas, the Kṣatriyas, the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras has became fully established by the time of the Nīlādri-Mahodayam,[25] though this purāṇa mentions heredity[26] as the main principle in determining the Varṇa of an individual. Except the Brāhmaṇas, the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* restricts other three Varṇas to touch the deity, or its naivedya and prescribes mahāsnānas of Lord Jagannātha if touched by Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra.[27] The purāṇa mentions twice, thrice, and four-times mahāsnānas for Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, and Śūdra-touch, respectively. Besides the above four Varṇas, the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* refers to Śabaras,[28] Cāṇḍālas[29] and Mlecchas[30] in the society.

The authentic works which prescribe the mode of worship of the deities in the Jagannātha temple are *Nīlādri-Mahodayam, Nīlādrinātha-pūjāvidhiḥ, Gopālārcanā-vidhiḥ, Karmāṅgi* and *Durgotsava Candrikā*. The daily ritualistic performances in the temple and the whole mode of worship of Lord Jagannātha are fully described in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* (Ch.38-91). This purāṇa accepts Lord Jagannātha as 'Praṇava-rūpī'[31] and his mantra as Praṇava. The '*Oṁ*' or '*Praṇava*' is reminiscent of the vedic '*Oṁ*'; *Klīṁ* is indicative of the tāntric one; while the other aspects of the mantras emphasise the purāṇic and Vaiṣṇavite forms.[32] Thus, the modes of worship are partly vedic, partly Tāntric, and partly purāṇic. A rigorous programme of personal purification is prescribed for the *arcakas* of the temple right from the time they leave the bed. The process of purification starts with the purification of the seat (*Pīṭha-śuddhi*) and the part of the earth where they are sitting.[33] The process of purification of the elements of the body (bhūta-śuddhi),[34] is performed by the worshippers. The worshipper, then, performs prāṇāyāma[35] (regulation of breaths). The tāntric tradition evolved various nyāsas. Our purāṇa describes *Ṣaṭcakra-nyāsa*,[36] *Māṭrkā-nyāsa*,[37] *Keśavādi-nyāsa*,[38] *Tattva-nyāsa*,[39] *Saṁhāra-nyāsa*,[40] *Vibhūtipañjara-nyāsa, Saṁhāra-Sṛṣṭi-nyāsa*,[41] and *Mṛtyu-pañjara-nyāsa*,[42] etc. Appropriate *mudrās* accompanied with the modes of worship are described, bit by bit, in this purāṇa.[43] Lord Jagannātha is worshipped according to *aṣṭākṣarī* (eight-Syllabled), *daśākṣarī* (ten-Syllabled)[44] and *aṣṭādaśākṣarī* (eighteen-Syllabled) mantras during morning, afternoon and evening (or night), respectively. Balabhadra is worshipped in the *dvādaśākṣara*-mantra (twelve-Syllabled).[45] Subhadra is worshipped in the *Bhuvaneśvarī*-mantras,[46] i.e., "*Oṁ, Hrīṁ, Bhuvaneśvaryai Namaḥ*". Sudarśana is worshipped in *Saptākṣara* or seven-Syllabled mantra.[47] It is interesting to note that the *praṇava-nyāsa* and mantra are invariably used in the worship of three deities. The three Syllables A, U, Ma stand for Balabhadra, Subhadrā and Jagannātha, respectively.[48] According to nyāsa-mantra, the different colours of the deities have been conceived.

The various avatāras[49] (incarnations) appearing in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* are said to be partial manifestations of Lord Jagannātha and he is the sum total of these incarnations. The Jagannātha-Cult is an assimilation of the various forms of religion and modes of worship. It merges within itself the different systems of philosophy. Our purāṇa indicates that the final salvation will be attained by visiting Śrī-Kṣetra and Lord Jagannātha. One can attain full salvation by taking or touching *mahā-prasāda*[50] (bhoga) of Lord Jagannātha, pulling or touching

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the rope of the cart (ratha) of the deities.[51] If one dies here in Śrī-Kṣetra, his soul achieves *mukti*.[52]

Another important feature of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* is the geographical picture of Oḍra-deśa. The purāṇa mentions that Oḍra-deśa is situated on the shore of Lavaṇa-ocean and is decorated with many *tīrthas*. The great and sacred *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra* stands here. Like other texts, our purāṇa calls this place 'Nīlācala' where Mādhava is worshipped.[53] Nīlamādhava was the earlier form of Lord Jagannātha and was worshipped by the great Śabara Viśvāvasu.[54] The God appeared in the east-sea in the form of *Dāru*[55] and, then, the present forms of the deities were formed by the order of the King Indradyumna. Brahmā installed these deities in the temple built by the king.[56]

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, thus, presents a vivid account of the *Puruṣottama-tattva* and its *māhātmya*. Ample references are made to trace the society, culture, philosophy and religion of the period. Like other purāṇic texts, the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* provides valuable information about the historical geography of the theṇ Orissa. This purāṇa is not only a superb sacred work of Jagannātha Cult, but also a treasure-house of the culture of Orissa.

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE JAGANNĀTHA-CULT

Several problems on the origin and development of the Jagannātha-Cult have been dealt with in different times by different scholars, but no satisfactory conclusion has been reached so far. As the Cult is synthetic one, it is a very difficult task to trace out the antiquity of Lord Jagannātha. The present chapter is an attempt to offer a hypothesis for the development of the Jagannātha Cult from the very beginning up to the moment, when the Triad was established. It is the result of constant discussions over years, and represents their one form or the other, but certainly not the final one. Research in this field is particularly very difficult and involves a lot of problems but still it will continue and may bring new results.

Many points of the early history of the Jagannātha Cult are still very doubtful. The differences of opinion between this study of mine and others, show the complexity of the problems which can not be avoided in any manner. I have therefore not tried to force a solution to this problem, rather analysed it from different angles to clear out the possibilities of overlapping of the facts.

Literary Sources

The literary mention of Lord Jagannātha and His cult is noteworthy to spot out the antiquity of the deity. The vedic and the purāṇic study throw some light on the problem, but a critical examination of the evidences furnished by them is essential for any reasonable hypothesis to be made on their basis. Therefore, the analysis of the Sanskrit texts are very much helpful in tracing out the remote origin of the Lord and the gradual development of the cult.

As has already been mentioned in this chapter, the *Ṛgveda* refers to '*Dāru*'[57] which shows the prevalence of *Dāru* worship in the Vedic age. Sāyaṇācārya, while commenting on this

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Vedic verse, alludes to the deity *Puruṣottama*, the wooden god to explain the significance of the word '*Yaddāru*'.[58] According to Sāyaṇa, there are three *Sūktas* in the *Ṛgveda*[59] which suggest that *Dāru* was regarded as the symbol of *Brahman*. On the basis of this conception of Sāyaṇa, *Brahman* can be symbolized as a tree and the *praṇava* is the symbol of *Brahman*. The four mātrās of *praṇava* may correspond to the four pādas of *Brahman*, and the four forms were carved neither five nor three to translate *Brahman* worship into *praṇava* worship. This *praṇava* worship later took the tāntric form and subsequently the paurāṇic form; and in this way the worship of *Dāru Brahman* and *praṇava* have been transformed in to the worship of Balabhadra, Subhadrā, Jagannātha and Sudarśana.

Therefore, the very ancient trees like Banyan, Vilva etc., came to be venerated by the people as divinities. Even today, such trees are worshipped by the Indian people as gods. Thus, the connection between *Dāru* and god is very old. The *Bhagavad Gītā* also bears evidence of *Dāru* worship.[60]

The mention of Dāru in the *Atharva Veda* [61] shows that the tree worship existed at the time of the *Vedas* and was certainly in vogue much before Sāyaṇa.[62] According to M.M. Ganguli, *Puruṣottama Kṣetra* (Puri) had become famous long before the growth of Buddhism.[63] This again suggests that the deity too must have been famous before the *Kṣetra* shot into prominence.

Coming to the age of the Upaniṣads we find the expression of puruṣa which is used in almost all the older Upaniṣads, sometimes concurrently with *Ātman* - however, in different text pieces - and sometimes even as the sole expression for the concept it stands for. And judging from the fact that the expression puruṣa - a person (or man) is much less abstract than the expression *Ātman* meaning 'self', it is plausible that the former is an older and the more archaic expression for this concept.

The word puruṣa is used in the following four senses in the Upaniṣads :

1. A human being[64]
2. The individual soul[65]
3. The presiding Deity of some element or the personal God[66]
4. The impersonal or the abstract cosmic soul (Brahman)[67]

The *Brahman* concept of the term 'puruṣa' shows that he is immortal and in whom all the worlds are established. He is higher than the highest the divine, in whom the person knowing (Him) merges losing his identity (*nāmarūpa*) as the rivers in the ocean.[68] The impersonal puruṣa who is within and without, the unborn, one who even stands beyond the highest imperishable element (*akṣarāt parataḥ paraḥ*) and from whom everything emerges, the *Prāṇa*, the *Manas* and the *Indriyas*.[69] It is thus obvious that none else but the Absolute could be meant by such statements.

The *Bhagavadgītā* says that there are two types of puruṣa : the perishable one (i.e., body) and the imperishable one (i.e., Individual soul). But since *Bhagavat*, the Lord, is beyond both these categories of puruṣa, he is known as Puruṣottama - the highest puruṣa or paramātman - the highest Ātman.[70]

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In all non-Vedic Sanskrit literature as well as in the *Vedas*, Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa or *Bhagavat* is known as Puruṣottama. This certainly alludes to the puruṣa-*Sūkta* of the *Ṛgveda*,[71] included in later Vedic *Saṁhitās* also. God Viṣṇu has, all along the religious history of India, been most closely associated with the Vedas and the sacrifice. According to the *Brāhmaṇas*,[72] He is identified with the sacrifices. Naturally, the puruṣa of the Ṛgveda is identified with the *Yajñapuruṣa* Viṣṇu. All the later Viṣṇuite and the *Pañcarātra* literature interprets puruṣa-*sūkta* as an eulogy of Viṣṇu Himself. The *Sūkta* is so popular with the Vaiṣṇavas that it has become a part of their Pūjā-ceremony. That this practice is old, is attested by *Skanda-Purāṇa*[73] as well as by the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*.[74] The *Skanda-Purāṇa* says that one should worship Viṣṇu with the verse of puruṣa-*sūkta*, while the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* prescribes the same *Sūkta* for the worship of Balabhadra.

The identification of the puruṣa of the *Ṛgveda* - out of whose body the whole creation emanates - with Viṣṇu also leads towards the development of the *Viśvarūpa* of Viṣṇu. In this concept, the universe is totally identified with Viṣṇu. In the *Mahābhārata*, Kṛṣṇa is said to have shown this form to the courtiers of Duryodhana,[75] Arjuna[76] and *Uttaṅka*.[77]

Thus, there is every justification for the expression Puruṣottama to be used for Viṣṇu or Jagannātha.

Valmīki mentions Jagannātha in the *Uttarākāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* wherein Rāma is described as exhorting Vibhīṣaṇa to devote himself to the worship of Jagannātha, the family deity of the Ikṣvāku Vaṁśa[78] (solar dynasty). Accordingly, in our own times, we witness a temple-ritual, called Vibhīṣaṇa *Vandāpanā*. The scholars, however, suggest that the *Uttarākāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is the composition of a much later date and that there have been lots of interpolations in the text.[79] This leads us to believe that the existence of Jagannātha Cult during the age of *Rāmāyaṇa* is not expressly justified.

In the *Mahābhārata* we find the reference to the *Mahāvedī*.[80] The Pāṇḍavas on their way to Kaliṅga, took their bath in the river Vaitaraṇī and according to the advice of their guide 'Lomasa', a great sage, they mounted a '*Vedī*' to be blessed and thus acquired the divine prowess.[81] This *Vedī* is identified by some with *Antarvedī* where Lord Jagannātha is enshrined. *Puruṣottama-Māhātmyam* of *Skanda-Purāṇa* describes it as a place situated in between the Banyan tree and the sea.[82] The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* calls it *Yajñavedī*, which is the seat of Lord Jagannātha. *Viṣṇu-dharmottara-Purāṇa* refers to the '*Vedī*' in the name of '*Antarvedī*' as a sacrificial altar.[84] There is also another reference of *Vedī* in the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*.[85]

However, the *Śānti Parva* of the *Mahābhārata* refers to the cult of Jagannātha.[86] Pandit Nilakantha Dasa while interpreting the verses is inclined to connect the *Nārāyaṇīya* story and the religion with the Jagannātha Cult. According to him, Lord Jagannātha is himself Nārāyaṇa. He stated that the name Jagannātha was there in the Kaliṅga Coast from the Ṛgvedic times along with the name of Puruṣottama. On the basis of the Nārada and the *Nārāyaṇīya* story, it can not be certainly spoken that the cult was prevalent in the *Mahābhārata* period, but their references give sufficient clue which throws some light on the antiquity of Jagannātha.

The Jagannātha Cult, as we have seen, became very popular in the age of the purāṇas. The *Matsya-Purāṇa*,[87] which is considered as one of the oldest of the purāṇas mentions

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Puruṣottama-Kṣetra in two places. But, it contains no reference to the deity Jagannātha or the king Indradyumna. It mentions only the deity Vimaḷā in *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra*. Among the later purāṇas, namely *Viṣṇu, Agni, Padma, Nārada, Brahma* and *Skanda*, we get more references to Jagannātha, the deity and the place of his installation.[88] But, it is only in the *Agni, Padma, Brahma* and the *Skanda* purāṇas[89] there occur passages about the sanctity of the place construction of the temple and the part played by the King Indradyumna.[90]

The *Agni-Purāṇa* (Ch.63) appears to mention the figures of Viṣṇu, Balabhadra and Bhadrā (Subhadrā) along with those of Sudarśana (Cakra), Pāñcajanya (Śaṁkha), Śrī, Puṣṭi, and others. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* enumerates the seven-fold images of Puruṣottama Jagannātha as Śrī, Bhū, Mādhava, Cakra, Cakrī, Avanībhṛt (Ananta-Balabhadra), Bhadrā (Subhadrā). The close connection between these two texts indicates the existence of Jagannātha Cult during the time of the purāṇas.

The *Pātāla-khaṇḍa* of *Padma-Purāṇa*[91] refers to Lord Puruṣottama at the Nīlagiri but it does not allude to the story of Indradyumna. According to the *Brahma-Purāṇa*,[92] the king Indradyumna arrived at *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra* and made the three images of Śaṁkarṣaṇa, Subhadrā and Jagannātha, which were installed in the shrine built by him. It is important to note that the *Brahma-Purāṇa*, for the first time gives the number of the deities and their respective names; it also uses the term 'Puruṣesa' or 'Puruṣottama' to indicate the *dāru* (wood) that came floating on the sea and was dreamt by the King Indradyumna. The anecdote of Indradyumna as narrated in the *Nārada-Purāṇa*[93] differs from the *Brahma-Purāṇa* in one respect that it makes no reference to Indradyumna's being helped by the kings of Kaliṅga, Kośala and Utkala in building the temple.

The *Pātāla-Khaṇḍa* of *Padma-Purāṇa* calls the *Kṣetra* as *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra* and its principal deity as Puruṣottama.[94] It also says that Nīlaparvata was the abode of Puruṣottama.[95] The *Uttarā-Khaṇḍa* of this purāṇa mentions the Trinity along with the fame of Lord Jagannātha.[96] The *Uttarā-Khaṇḍa* then also depicts Puruṣottama and Jagannātha as one and the same.[97]

The *Skanda-Purāṇa* (*Utkala-Khaṇḍa*) projects the cult of Jagannātha with such crystalline clarity that it dispels the darkness around it. Currently regarded as the most authentic source of the cult, *Skanda-Purāṇa* is widely quoted by scholars. This purāṇa narrates the Indradyumna story elaborately and presents a vivid picture of the cult. It substitutes the term '*Mahāvedī - Antarvedī*' for *Vedī*, used in the *Mahābhārata*. It also introduces the concept of the *Caturddhā Mūrti* (four images) by detailing the manner in which the four images were installed in the temple built by the King Indradyumna. Again, *Skanda-Purāṇa* is the first to bring out the idea of three - deity - worship and also to suggest how each deity was invoked by a separate mantra or hymn. It thus lays puruṣa *Sūkta* for Jagannātha, *Dvādaśākṣara* mantra for Balabhadra and Devī *Sūkta* for Subhadrā. The specification of the colour and dress of the three deities is also another novel feature of this purāṇa.[98] Now, when the *Padma-Purāṇa* refers to Puruṣottama as worshipped by the Bhils, the *Skanda-Purāṇa* presents Puruṣottama as the '*Śabara Devatā*'. The deity was worshipped by the great Śabara Viśvāvasu in the form of '*Nīlamādhava*'.

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, which was composed after the model of the *Puruṣottama-*

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Māhātmyam (Utkala-Khaṇḍa) of the *Skanda-Purāṇa*, is quite identical with it in describing the Indradyumna story except in one respect that Yama requested Viṣṇu to disappear from the *Kṣetra*, so that he (Yama) can impose his power there and the people can not get direct salvation by visiting the place. Keeping his request, Viṣṇu disappeared. On the other hand, the story narrated in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* can be briefly presented as follows:

The purāṇa, in its first chapter, describes the geographical situation of *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra* and highlights the uncomparable sanctity of this Kṣetra. It speaks that the *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra* is the most sacred one, among all the tīrthas[99] of the world. The purāṇa refers to Nīlamādhava, who was worshipped by the Śabara Viśvāvasu.[100] The thirsty Kāka (crow) - story narrated in the purāṇa is a very interesting one. Once a thirsty crow came to this Kṣetra and at once got salvation by simply and carelessly visiting the Mādhava and drinking water from the *Rohiṇī-Kuṇḍa.*[101] The crow immediately went to Vaikuṇṭha.[102] Observing this Yama was afraid of the hampering of his power there and hence prayed Mādhava for the same.[103] Lakṣmī in her reply to Yama, told - "O, son, you would have your power everywhere on this earth except over this *Mahākṣetra.*[104] Such remarkable activities of this *Kṣetra* attracts devotees from time to time.

Indradyumna, the king of Avantī, once heard about the unique power of Nīlamādhava from Jaṭiḷa Ṛṣi, who offered the *Ājñāmāḷā* of Nīlamādhava to the king. Anxiously, the king sent his priest Vidyāpati to locate the dwelling place of Nīlamādhava. Vidyāpati thus came to *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra* and saw, Nīlamādhava, worshipped by a Śabara, named Viśvāvasu. He returned to his country and informed the king about the spot. He offered the garland of the deity to the king.

Indradyumna, on receiving the awaited message set out with all his men for Nīlagiri, but could not see the god, since he had disappeared before the king's arrival there. Then, following Nārada's advice, Indradyumna built a temple to honour the god and offered a thousand-horse sacrifice at the place. At the end of the sacrifices, the king dreamt of the image of Lord Viṣṇu in the night. There-after a massive tree appeared in the sea. The king visited the *Dāru* early in the morning while going to the sea for a bath. The *Dāru* was brought and placed on the *Yajñavedī.* Then, it was a problem how to construct the images of Viṣṇu. Hearing from heaven, the king began the work of construction with the help of an old carpenter (God in disguise), who appeared there on his own accord.

After 15 days, the door of the image - construction-chamber was opened by the advice of Nārada. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* mentions *Saptadhā Mūrti*, which appeared in the chamber. Then, the king constructed a temple for the Lord.

Indradyumna went to 'Brahma Loka' to invite Brahmā to preside over the inaugural ceremony of the temple and the installation of the images there-in. His journey to distant, divine Loka took many years, during which a certain King Gālava, who happened to be a worshipper of Mādhava idol in that temple, claimed the temple as his. However, when Indradyumna came back to the *Kṣetra* and narrated the past before him, Gālava did not protest. Soon after Brahmā descended from the 'Brahma Loka' and installed the images of the deities in the temple built by Indradyumna. The king, then, prayed Brahmā to elaborate the topics

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on the mode of worship and the festivals of the deities. Accordingly, Brahmā prescribed *Trikāḷa-pūjā* for Lord Jagannātha and others. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* analyses each and every part of the pūjā-ceremony which has been discussed clearly in a separate chapter.

The *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, like the *Skanda-Purāṇa*, mentions the fame gained by the *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra*. Pargiter has referred to it in his work 'Dynasties of the Kali age'.[105] The antiquity of this purāṇa which dates back to the 4th century A.D., proves that *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra* was popular even before the purāṇa was written.

The story of Indradyumna as described in the *Kapila-Saṁhitā* seems to be slightly different from that narrated in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* or in the *Skanda-Purāṇa*. Here in *Kapila-Saṁhitā*, we find no reference to Vidyāpati. Nārada does not accompany the king; but appears right at the moment he is needed. Then, unlike *Skanda-Purāṇa*, there is no reference here to the carpenter, who carves out the images. The author does not mention the horse-sacrifice. Another interesting feature here is that Vimaḷā, in the sacred precincts of Jagannātha temple, is depicted as the goddess of learning, and not as one of the forms of Durgā. Though we find here no reference to the Sarasvatī temple, Sarasvatī and Lakṣmī are described as sitting at the feet of Jagannātha who sleeps in the ocean of milk.[106]

Now, we will proceed to turn the pages of Oriya purāṇas without which our study on the Jagannātha - tradition can not be completed. The earliest work of importance of this nature is the *Mahābhārata* of Sāraḷā Dāsa, written in the 15th century A.D., during the King Kapilendradeva. Sāraḷā Dāsa [107] appears to ascribe the origin of the worship of Jagannātha to that of *Śabarīnārāyaṇa* worshipped by the Śabara community of the bygone days. He has associated the cult of Jagannātha with that of Kṛṣṇa Cult. He mentioned that Kṛṣṇa's body, after death, could not be burnt by fire and hence was thrown into sea by the order of the Lord. This corpse of Kṛṣṇa appeared in the form of '*Dāru*' at Nīlagiri. The wooden form of the god was discovered from the '*Rohiṇī Kuṇḍa*' by both Indradyumna and Jārā Śabara. The images of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā were constructed from the '*Dāru*' so obtained. The image making work supposedly continued in a closed room for fifteen days. Viśvakarmā himself joined Jārā in this work. After fifteen days, when the king anxiously opened the door of the room, he discovered three images, but no trace of Jārā or Viśvakarmā. Sāraḷā Dāsa also mentions that the god, being pleased with the prayer of Jārā, had informed him that he (the god) would incarnate himself as Buddha in Nīlagiri. Thus, Sāraḷā Dāsa conceives Jagannātha as Buddha.[108]

In *Muṣali Parva*, Sāraḷā Dāsa included the history of Nīlasundara hill and also made a few more alterations, but broadly he retained the version of *Vana Parva*.

Though Sāraḷā Dās was influenced by the other purāṇas, still he has sufficiently shown his originality in describing the tradition of Lord Jagannātha. The idea of the unburnt corpse of Kṛṣṇa changing into the wooden image and its being found in the *Rohiṇī Kuṇḍa* is not seen in any other purāṇas. It is entirely Sāraḷā Dāsa's own creation.

The *Deulatolā* of Nīlāmbara Dāsa offers a slightly different account of the three images.[109] He starts straight with the king Indradyumna of Mālava who sent Vidyāpati to find the images of Nīlamādhava. Vidyāpati took the help of Lalitā, the daughter of Viśvāvasu, the Śabara

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Chief and found the deity. Indradyumna, on hearing from him, started on a military expedition to Orissa and met Viśvāvasu at Banki in the district of Cuttack. Both became friends. Nīlamādhava disappeared but was pleased to appear in a dream to Indradyumna who had kept on fasting for twenty-one days. He exhorted upon him to get the *Dāru* of Nīlamādhava floating on the sea and instal the images to be constructed by Viśvakarmā. He further commanded not to open the doors of the temple till the completion of the work by Viśvakarmā. But, the doors were thrown open before the prescribed time at the impatience of his Queen Guṇḍicā. The king found three images, all incomplete and unfurnished.

Like Nīlāmbara Dāsa, Śiśu Kṛṣṇa Dāsa has also written a book, named '*Deula Tolā*'. Likewise some more *Deula Tolā* books were written in the later period, among which Kṛṣṇa Dāsa's work enjoys greater popularity in Orissa. This work narrates the episode of Lord Jagannātha in the similar manner in which the *Puruṣottama-Mahatmyam* of *Skanda-Purāṇa* or the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* describes. Some even ascribe the name 'the *Skanda-Purāṇa* of *Kali Yuga*'[110] to it. This book mentions Jagannātha as *Dāru Brahma*, Viśvanātha and Kṛṣṇa, and conceives him as Gaṇeśa by introducing the Gaṇeśa veśa of Jagannātha.[111] The author also includes the name of 'Bhuṣaṇḍa Crow' to whom both the Kings Indradyumna and Gālamādhava went to establish their own claim for the constructor of the temple of Lord Jagannātha. Brahmā was accepted as the arbiter in the dispute. However, the Crow's evidence went in favour of Indradyumna's claim as the builder of the temple.

Jagannātha Dāsa, in his '*Dāru Brahmagītā*' presents the story of the construction of the temple as well as the images with a little variation.[112] According to this work, the Paṇḍavas tried to burn the dead-body of ŚrīKṛṣṇa after his death but failed to do so completely. Finally, they, being directed by the heavenly voice, threw the partly burnt body into the sea near the Nīlagiri. This *Piṇḍa* of ŚrīKṛṣṇa reached the sea-shore of Puri and was seen by Vasu Śabara for the first time, who kept it near the Banyan tree, adjacent to the *Rohiṇī Kuṇḍa*. The other portions of the story are similar to that described in the other works.

Thus, from the comparative study of the facts as narrated in the different works of Sanskrit and Oriya literature, it is obvious that more or less they emphasize on the images being made of *Dāru* (wood) found floating on the sea. The authors of the *Skanda-Purāṇa* (*Utkala Khaṇḍa*) as well as the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* express their eagerness to connect the worship of Jagannātha with that of the Vedic tradition which is concerned with *Dāru*. On the other hand the authors in the Oriya literature identify the *Dāru* with the half-burnt body of Kṛṣṇa. Their aim to connect Jagannātha of *Kaliyuga* with Lord Kṛṣṇa of *Dvāpara Yuga* and to show that Jagannātha is no other than Lord Kṛṣṇa himself. We also mark in the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* that Kṛṣṇa, Jagannātha as well as Puruṣottama are one and the same. This purāṇa says, "*Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Jagannātha jāne tvām Puruṣottamam*"[113]

Historical Development

The rapid expansion of the Āryan territories in India resulted during the period 800-550 B.C.[114] At the beginning of this period, the portion of India occupied by them was comparatively limited and they were surrounded by a ring of non-Āryan people. This is evidenced by the

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presence of the Brāhmaṇas. However, gradually they advanced to east and occupied the greater part of Bengal and Orissa (Kaliṅga). This was probably also the time when the epic traditions, later to culminate in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, began to take place. Now developments in religion which eventually evolved into the later Hinduism, which contrasts in many ways with the Vedic religion, also had their first beginnings in this period. The Āryan Culture, based on the Vedic Culture, remained the centralizing factor during the time and from then it was influenced by the non-Āryan Culture. A very much wider extension of Āryan language and Culture can be observed at the time of the rise of Buddhism and Jainism, towards the end of the sixth century B.C.

Perhaps the earliest glimmerings of empire were visible to the Nandas, the dynasty which immediately preceded the Mauryas. Towards the later part of the 5th century B.C., Orissa was under the rule of the Nandas and was predominantly governed by Brāhmaṇism. The state came under the influence of Buddhism during the reign of Aśoka, particularly after the great Kaliṅga war, in the 3rd century B.C. In 185 B.C. the Mauryan Empire ceased to exist.[115] Actually, fifty years after the death of Aśoka the Mauryan Empire had declined. Some historians have traced this decline to the policies of Aśoka, claiming that his pro-Buddhist sympathies led to a Brāhmaṇical revolt against the Mauryan rulers. The immediate inheritors of the Mauryas were the Śuṅgas, a Brāhmaṇa family which had usurped the throne at Pāṭaliputra. The Śuṅgas were to give way to the Kānvas who were then followed by a series of minor dynasties ruled in different parts of India.

In the 2nd century A.D., Kaliṅga (a part of modern Orissa) came to the forefront with the meteroric rise of King Khāraveḷa, who was a Jaina.[116] During his reign, Jainism came to be regarded as the royal religion. Being a staunch follower of Jainism, he took effective measures for the propagation of this religion. The performance of a *Rājasuya Yajña*[117] by him according to the Vedic rites indicates the prevalence of other religions also in the period.

After Khāraveḷa, Jainism suffered decline in Orissa and Buddhism again came into force. The *Gaṇḍavyuha*, a work of the early part of the fourth century A.D.,[118] points out Toṣali as a celebrated centre of Mahāyāna Buddhism. In the 4th century A.D., Orissa came under the influence of the Guptas as a result of the historic invasion of Samudra Gupta (330-375 AD.).[119] The Guptas were Vaiṣṇavas and naturally they patronized Vaiṣṇavism in Orissa during their rule. Shortly after Samudragupta's military expedition to the south, the so-called Pitṛbhaktas and Māṭharas[120] established an independent rule in Kaliṅga south of the Mahendra mountain. During their rule which lasted about 180 years (Ca. 364-540 A.D.), Viṣṇuism advanced into Kaliṅga where it enjoyed royal protection from the time of Anantaśaktivarman onwards.

The Vaiṣṇavas faced a serious setback with the fall of the above dynasty. They lost their former royal support in Kaliṅga. All the following dynasties were inclined towards Śaivism. It had shifted markedly in favour of Śaivism and Śāktism, both which gained wide popularity in the post-Gupta period.

The supremacy of Gupta power in northern India did not remain unchallenged. The challenge came from the unexpected invasion of north-western India by distinctly barbaric people, the Hūṇas. Their invasions of the 6th century and the rapid decay of the Gupta empire

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caused serious unrest in the Brāhmin Communities of northern India. This continued even after the accession of Harṣavardhana in the early 7th century because the struggle for hegemony between Harṣa, Śaśāṅka and Pulakesin II did not serve to produce a feeling of political stability and security, and possibly also because of Harṣa's leaning towards Buddhism. As a result, Brāhmins immigrated to Orissa from northern India towards the end of the 6th century and in the first half of the 7th century A.D. But, up to the 6th century A.D., Orissa continued as a famous centre of Buddhism because of the great progress and prosperity accomplished by Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna Buddhism in the rule of the Bhauma-Karas.[121] During this period, both Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism were not completely extinguished from Orissa. These two cults obtained support from some members of the Bhauma royal family. The Haṁseśvara temple inscription mentions that Mādhava devī, wife of Śubhākara I, constructed a Śaiva temple and enshrined Mādhaveśvara in it after her name.[122] The Śaiva temples Kusumeśvara, Laliteśvara and Daṇḍīśvara traced in the Virajā-Māhātmya were the evidences of Śaiva Shrines.[123] These temples were most probably constructed by Kusumahāra, Lalitahāra and Daṇḍīmahādevī respectively.[124] Śubhākara IV and Śivakara III were great Śaivas in as much as they also bore the epithet *Paramamāheśvara* in their records. Daṇḍī Mahādevī was also a devout Śaiva, since she possessed the title *Paramamāheśvarī* in her records. Her Kumurang chapter registers the gift of a village to some Brāhmaṇas.[125]

It is quite likely that Uttareśvara in Bhubaneswar and Vahiringeśvara in Dhauli, evidently Śaiva temples, were constructed during the Bhauma rule.[126]

Among the feudatories of the Bhauma Kings, the Tuṅgas professed Śaivism while the Nandodbhavas were probably the followers of Vaiṣṇavism. This cult, which had obtained the paramount position in the Gupta age, was considerably weakened in the seventh century A.D. We get stray references to this faith as a royal religion during this period. The Khurdā plates of Mādhavarāja refer to "Mādhava with discus in his hands"[127] and thereby suggest the worship of Viṣṇu in Koṅgada. Again, various synonyms of Viṣṇu are very often referred to in the copper-plate grants of the Śailodbhavas, for example Śrīnivāsa in the Buguḍā plates,[128] Madhusūdana in Tekkali plates[129] and Hari in Bāṇpur plates.[130]

Under the patronage of the Bhaumas, Vaiṣṇavism became a force in the religious life of Orissa. The Dhenkanal plate of Tribhuvana Mahādevī I mentions her as *Paramavaiṣṇavī* or devout worshipper of Viṣṇu.[131] The Talcher plate of Śubhākara IV describes her as a devotee of Hari, that is Viṣṇu.[132]

Śāktism also prevailed in the Bhauma Kingdom. We have evidence that the Capital Virajā (Yājapura) was a centre of Śākta worship in the Bhauma period, since a number of Mātṛkā images belonging to the 8th and 9th centuries A.D., have been discovered at Yājapura and its environs. The shrine of the seven mother goddesses standing on the Daśāśvamedhaghāṭa at Yājapura is the eye-witness of the said religious attitude of the people.

However, Śaivism attained a predominant position in Orissa in the seventh century A.D. This was due to the efforts of Śaśāṅka and the Śailodbhavas. Śaṅkarācārya came to Puri in the 9th century A.D. and introduced the Śaivite form of worship in the Jagannātha temple.[133] His teachings "undoubtedly stimulated the growth of Śaivism"[134] and might have exercised

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tremendous influence on the later Bhauma rulers, who embraced Śaivism. This cult had better times in the 9th century A.D. as it obtained the royal patronage in this period. Śubhākara III was a great champion of the Śaiva faith. But, it is quite interesting to note here that both Śiva and Viṣṇu are found mention in the Hindol copper-plate inscription of Śubhākara III. [135]

Towards the end of 6th century A.D. and at the beginning of the 7th century A.D., another royal Brāhmin family of 'Mudgala-Kula' appeared in the western Orissa. The Mohanagiri temple inscription of Kalahandi district of Orissa preserves the name of one Śrī Citracaṇḍa of the Mudgala-Kula.[136] Mahārāja Śambhuyaśas of this family is said to be a devotee of Śiva.[137] There continued to live members of the mudgala-gotra in Orissa immediately after the accession of the Śailodbhavas.

Another powerful dynasty with an inclination towards Viṣṇuism arose on the north-western border of Orissa when the Nalas lost their hold over the northern part of Dakṣiṇa Kośala to the so-called Śarabhapurīya dynasty (7th to the beginning of the 8th century A.D.). Their royal seal bears the figure of Gaja-Lakṣmī. Narendra the second ruler of this dynasty was a *Paramabhāgavata.*[138]

The Lakṣmaṇa temple in Sirpur[139] which belongs to the end of the 8th century,[140] provides evidences for the worship of Puruṣottama as Nṛsiṁha.[141] The inscription recording the construction of the Lakṣmaṇa temple opens with a salutation to Puruṣottama and continues to invoke this Puruṣottama as Nṛsiṁha.[142] Although Puruṣottama is a commonly used title of Viṣṇu at least since the Gupta period and its occurrence at the beginning of an invocation of Viṣṇu's avatāra Nṛsiṁha is nothing extraordinary, this combination deserves notice because it is indicative of a trend in the Vaiṣṇava religion to give special emphasis to the Nṛsiṁha aspect of Viṣṇu. We find this trend again in the 9th century in an inscription of the time of Nārāyaṇa Pāla (Ca. 864 A.D.)[143] and finally in the Jagannātha Cult in Puri. The Nṛsiṁha aspect of Lord Jagannātha will be subsequently discussed in this chapter while we will take up the formative phase of the deities. Here we should only note that one of the most important elements of the later Jagannātha Cult, i.e., the worship of Puruṣottama - Nṛsiṁha, can be traced back to Sirpur in the upper Mahānadī valley, the ancient capital of Dakṣiṇa Kośala. It is here that during the late Pāṇḍuvaṁśī period we find one of the germs which later developed into the composite Jagannātha Cult of Orissa. During this time of Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs, Tāntrism as well as Śāktism were also powerfully rising movements in Orissa.

The Somavaṁśīs (Keśarīs) who ruled over Orissa in the 9th century A.D.,[144] were the followers of Śaivism. Under the kings of the Keśarī dynasty, Buddhism declined and Brāhmaṇism had the ascendency. But, by this time Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā were already famous in Puri or the *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra* had already come to be considered as a sacred place[145] for Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas. During Keśarī rule, Puri and Bhubaneswar became important religious centres, and the Keśarī kings built numerous temples in both the places. Essentially Śaivas, they were also, supporters of Vaiṣṇavism. Yayāti Keśarī, for instance, built a temple of Jagannātha. But, none of the inscriptions go in favour of Somavaṁśī Kings and can refer to the present Jagannātha temple during their rule in Orissa. The only evidence is the *Mādaḷā Pāñji* tradition which mentions that an older dilapidated temple was pulled down

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in order to build the present one.[146] It advocates for the existence of a famous Puruṣottama temple in Puri during the Somavaṁśī rule.

In about 900 A.D., the idea of joint worship of Viṣṇu and Śiva gained ground and led to new architectural experiments. The two gods were worshipped side by side, in twin temples of identical shape, placed on a common platform. Such twin temples for Nīlamādhava Viṣṇu and Siddheśvaraśiva were built on the bank of the Mahānadī river at Gandharadi[147] in the territory of the Bhañjas of Khiñjali. From the middle of the 9th century onwards the movement of Viṣṇuism advanced into the territories of the Bhañjas. That some members of the Bhañja family embraced Viṣṇuism is known from their inscriptions.[148]

In the middle of the 10th century A.D., the two important elements of the later Jagannātha Cult, namely (i) the connection of Puruṣottama with Nṛsiṁha and (ii) the juxtaposition of Viṣṇu and Śiva on a common platform (vedī) were introduced into the coastal Orissa. The *Prabodha-candrodayam* which refers to the temple of Puruṣottama on the sea shore in Utkala was written between 1073 and 1076 as predicted by H.V. Stietencron.[149] By the beginning of the 12th century A.D., the temple of Jagannātha built by Yayāti Keśarī would be old enough to have been in state of decay. Two earliest Gaṅga inscriptions in Puri mention Puruṣottama and indirectly confirm that the temple was dilapidated in the time of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva. Although these inscriptions mention Puruṣottama, they were not attached to his temple but to the temples of Mārkaṇḍeśvara and Nṛsiṁha.[150] According to the copper-plate inscription of Rāja III of 1198 A.D.,[151] the temple of Jagannātha was constructed by one Gaṅgeśvara. M.M. Chakravarty has identified Gaṅgeśvara with Coḍagaṅgadeva of Gaṅga dynasty.[152] On the basis of epigraphical records, Dr. K.C. Mishra has proved that it was 'Coḍagaṅgadeva' who built the temple of Jagannātha.[153] During the times of Anaṅgabhīmadeva (1212-1239 A.D.), Lord Jagannātha was regarded as the real ruler of Orissa, while the king was supposed to be his representative only.[154] Anaṅgabhīmadeva was a '*Parama Vaiṣṇava*' as well as a '*Parama Māheśvara*' at the same time. He was also entitled, '*Durgāputra*', '*Rudraputra*' and 'Puruṣottamaputra'.[155] *Mādaḷā Pāñji* attributes to Anaṅgabhīma the construction of the present temple of Lord Jagannātha. Anaṅgabhīma built the great temple after having seen the small and dilapidated one constructed earlier.[156] The present 'Chatiśā Niyoga' thirty six institutions for the Lord's service) was organized during his period.[157]

The Gaṅga Kings were also influenced by Śaivism. Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva was a devotee of Śiva Gokarṇeśvara. Gradually, he was converted to Vaiṣṇavism. Scholars are of opinion that this conversion took place under the impact of the preaching of Rāmānuja[158] (1056-1137 A.D.). Thus, there existed Harihara worship simultaneously. It was taken over by the imperial Gaṅgas who built the twin temples for Nīlamādhava and Siddheśvara at Kantilo on the Mahānadī river. In Bhubaneswar, there also existed twin temples for Śiva and Śakti (Śiśireśvara and Kāpālini). This concept became extremely important in the history of Orissa religion, as it provided the basis for the Jagannātha-trinity which was developed in the Gaṅga period and consists of the Juxtaposed gods Viṣṇu (Jagannātha, Kṛṣṇa) and Śiva (Balabhadra, Śaṁkarṣaṇa) together with a common Śakti (Subhadrā, Kātyāyanī).

In the 12th century A.D., Jayadeva preached the cult of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa through the verses of his *Gītagovinda*. His verses refer to 'Jagadīśa' which is another name of Jagannātha.[159]

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In the thirteenth century A.D., Vaiṣṇavism was preached in Orissa by Narasingh Muni, a follower of Mādhavācārya, as well as by Narahari Tīrtha and Jagannātha Tīrtha.[160] This was the time when the Sun temple at Koṇārka was built by Laṅguḷā Narasiṁhadeva. In course of time the Sun was identified with Viṣṇu and Jagannātha-Viṣṇu worship was also merged into the Sun-worship and his chariot was called 'Ravi-Ratha'.[161] Jagannātha has been described as Viṣṇu in a copper-plate grant of Narasiṁhadeva IV.[162] In the fourteenth century A.D., Narasiṁha Bhāratī, Vāsudeva Bhāratī and Rāghava preached Vaiṣṇavism of Mādhavācārya school.[163]

In the 15th century, Puruṣottamadeva, the son of King Kapilendradeva ascended the throne. He made generous offerings to Jagannātha in the shape of jewellery and land.[164] According to popular story of *Mādaḷā Pāñji*, Puruṣottamadeva conquered Kāñci and married the princess Padmāvatī with the help of Jagannātha and Balabhadra who fought in the war for his side.[165] The story thus admits the fact that emperor Jagannātha was the protector of the state as well as his devotees.

In the year 1509, Śrī Caitanya came to Puri and visited Lord Jagannātha.[166] He considered Jagannātha to be Kṛṣṇa himself. Caitanya's extraordinary religious personality impressed all Vaiṣṇavas irrespective of sectarian distinctions. The form of Vaiṣṇavism he preached, was embraced by King Pratāparudradeva and its doctrine found inclusion in the cult of Jagannātha.[167] The Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa wave flew in Orissa due to Caitanya's neo-Vaiṣṇavism movement. Rāmānanda, during his discourses with Caitanya at Rājamahendrī, highly praised the worship of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa. In his poem, *Mahābhāva Prakāśa*, Kānāi describes Rādhā as Mahābhāva or embodiment of supreme bliss. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, Śyāmānanda and Vaiṣṇava teachers spread the Caitanya faith in Orissa.[168] Ray Rāmānanda in his *Jagannātha Vallabha* drama describes the dalliance of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.

Under the influence of Caitanya Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa Cult was exalted by the contemporary writers. Acyutānanda and his associates wrote poems on 'Rāsa' or the sport of Kṛṣṇa with Rādhā and the Gopīs. The *Rāsa-Krīḍā* of Jagannātha Dāsa, the *Nitya Rāsa* of Acyutānanda, the *Tūla Śūnya Rāsa* of Ananta may be cited in this connection. In the *Śūnya Saṁhitā*, Kṛṣṇa of Dvārakā and his consorts unsuccessfully tried to reach the eternal abode of 'Rāsa'. Yaśovanta Dāsa in his *Prema Bhakti Brahma Gītā*, praises the mode of devotion by imitating the Gopīs.[169]

The Jagannātha temple enjoyed the devoted patronage of the Gajapati Kings. Kapilendradeva and Puruṣottamadeva presented jewels and ornamented articles for the use of Jagannātha. The Gajapati Kings regarded Jagannātha as the state deity. Pratāparudradeva made it known in one of his inscriptions in the Jagannātha temple that any defiance of his command will be the violation of the command of Jagannātha.[170]

About 1542, an officer named Govinda Vidyādhara murdered the last two kings of the Sūryavaṁśī dynasty and usurped the throne. In his inscription in the Jagannātha temple dated the October 1543, he professed devotion to Jagannātha and threatened the refractory chiefs with the displeasure of Jagannātha. The Bhoi dynasty which Govinda Vidyādhara established, had a short rule. Mukunda Haricandana, also known as 'Telangā Mukundadeva' came to power after Govinda Vidyādhara. He ascended the throne in 1568 A.D. and was treated by the

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Moghul emperor Akbar as one of his friends. Mukundadeva offended Sulaiman Kararani, the Sultan of Bengal, by entering into an alliance with Akbar. With the help of Akbar, the army of Mukundadeva plundered the Sultan's territory up to the river Hooghly. Sulaiman now realized the danger and he struck hard. Taking advantage of Akbar's pre-occupation in the siege of far-off Chittor, he sent a strong force to invade Orissa, under the command of his son Bayazid, assisted by his general 'Kalāpāhāḍa'. The temple of Jagannātha was raided by 'Kalāpāhāḍa' who caused large scale destruction to the images of the temple and the other deities. According to *Mādaḷā Pāñji,* he carried off the image of the Lord with him as far as the banks of the Ganges. There he attempted to burn it. As his body began to crack he threw the half burnt image containing the holy object (*Nāvi-Brahma*) into Gaṅgā. A Muslim Amir (noble) picked it up from the river and kept it in his house. One 'Bisara Mahanty', a Vaiṣṇava mendicant from Orissa, followed the iconoclast. He procured the charred image from the Amir. He took out the holy object and secretly carried it to Kujang in the Cuttack district of Orissa.[171]

The Jagannātha temple Chronicle says that in his 9th Aṅka (7th regnal year) Rāmachandradeva, the king of Khurdā, brought the sacred object (*Nāvi-Brahma*) from Kujang Garh and installed new images at Khurdā. The image of Jagannātha was finally installed in the Puri-temple on the 11th Aṅka of Rāmachandradeva, 18th day of Karkaṭaka, corresponding to 17th July 1575 A.D.[172] The Pāñji gives to Rāmachandradeva the credit of installing Jagannātha in the Puri-temple with the motive of glorifying him as Second Indradyumna. He was also titled as Abhinava Indradyumna.[173]

From 16th to 18th century A.D., Jagannātha temple of Puri and the images there were undergone numerous raids by the Muslim invaders. However, the Jagannātha temple became the most famous Hindu temple in the Mughal empire.[174] After each invasion, the deities were re-installed in the temple. The Muslim rule in Orissa practically ended in 1751 by the treaty of Alivardi Khan with Marathas, though the Nawabs continued to appoint Muslim Deputy Subedars till 1759 with the appointment of Sheo Bhatt Sathe as the Subedar in 1760, "Orissa came directly under the control of the Marathas".[175]

Jagannātha temple was left undisturbed during Alivardi Khan's conflict with the Marathas. Vīrakeśarīdeva (1739-1792) managed the affairs of the Jagannātha temple. During the rule of the direct administration of the Marathas in Orissa, there occurred a notable change. The first ruler Sheo Bhatt Sathe ruled for a period of four years from 1760 to 1764 A.D. During this time, Jagannātha Nārāyandeva, the Chief of Kimedi, invaded the territory of Khurdā. He claimed to be the legitimate descendant of the Gajapati Kings of Orissa.

Then, Rājāram Puṇdit, the Subedar of Orissa (1778-1793) imprisoned Vīrakeśarīdeva at Cuttack and recognized his grandson Divyasiṁhadeva as the king of Khurdā, on his agreeing to pay tribute to the Marathas.[176] This led to further elimination of the influence of the Rājā of Khurdā in the affairs of the Jagannātha temple. Divyasiṁhadeva was succeeded by his son Mukundadeva in 1797. As seen from the history of Maratha rule in Orissa, the interests of Jagannātha temple were guarded by the Maratha Subadars. The Maratha Chiefs liberally endowed the Jagannātha temple, restoring its glory after two hundred years. When Chimna Sau Bapu visited the temple, he offered jewels, an elephant and costly dress to the deity.[177] Mohan Bhoga was established in the temple by the mother of Raghuji Bhonsle.[178] The Marathas

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treated the pilgrims to Juggernātha (Jagannātha) with a degree of attention and consideration. Therefore, the Jagannātha Cult attained the paramount position in Orissa during this time.

Next, Orissa came under British rule in the year 1803. The British Government paid careful attention to the protection of Jagannātha temple as well as the deities. Finally, the Superintendence of the temple was vested in the Rājā of Khurdā. But the British Government reserved the right of supervision for the restoration of good order and prevention of irregularity in the temple administration. The rulers were aware of the deep veneration of Orissan people for Jagannātha. They considered the temple as the most celebrated temple in India, which attracts the pilgrims from all parts of the country.[179] They conceived the idea that the influence of the temple extends to the remotest region where the worship of *Brahma* prevails.[180]

The history of Lord Jagannātha is, thus, to a great extent, the religious history of Orissa. The worship of Lord Jagannātha is based on syncretism of different creeds. Jainism, Buddhism, Śaivism, Saura, Gāṇapatya, Śāktism, Tāntrism and Vaiṣṇavism spread to Puri and finally all merged into a single form i.e., the cult of Jagannātha. They gathered themselves under the shadow of Lord Jagannātha. Hence, Jagannāthism has entered totally into the culture of Orissa and has already become a family tradition.

Formative Phase

Several problems of the early history of the Jagannātha Cult have been dealt within the previous paragraphs. It has been shown that Jagannātha was interpreted in several different ways, the main interrelations being an identification with Puruṣottama, with Kṛṣṇa and a close identification with Nṛsiṁha. But, the iconographical study of the peculiar shape of the wooden images provides the clue for the formation of Jagannātha Triad. This possibility may be a considerable asset to the origin and development of the Jagannātha Cult.

A Tribal Deity (The Aboriginal Post)

The Jagannātha figure was developed from the identification of a tribal deity represented through a wooden post with Narasiṁha. Narasiṁha's popular iconography, a head with arms, was added to the aboriginal post. The original cult which was developed from and belonged to that tribal substratum practises the rituals and renew the wooden images (*Navakalevara* ceremony) with the use of Mantrarāja - Nṛsiṁha-Mantra. The *Puruṣottama-Mahātmyam* of *Skanda-Purāṇa* speaks, "There has never been nor will ever be a mantra more effective than this. Worshipped with this mantra, Viṣṇu is immediately pleased."[181] The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, with the same view, narrates that Brahma, while consecrating the wooden images, saw the god in his Narasiṁha form.[182]

It is Narasiṁha, not Puruṣottama, Kṛṣṇa or any other Vaiṣṇava deity associated with Jagannātha as Vāsudeva, who is the presiding deity of the whole *Navakalevara* ritual. Both the parts of this ritual; the Vanayāga (forest sacrifice) and the Pratiṣṭhā (consecration) belong to the worship of Narasiṁha. Even the most important rite of the Pratiṣṭhā ceremony, namely nyāsa (placement), which charges the image with the character of the deity it represents, is

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carried out mainly with the Mantrarāja of Narasiṁha. Till the dārus assume the shapes of the four Jagannātha deities they are consistently considered, treated and worshipped as Narasiṁha.

For the origin of Jagannātha two possibilities for such an initial identification have been suggested; with Śiva in his aspect as *Ekapāda Bhairava* and with Narasiṁha.[183] According to H.V. Stietencron, there are two main reasons in favour of an identification with *Śiva-Bhairava-Ekapāda* being the beginning of the Jagannātha figure. One of the reasons is based on the iconography of Jagannātha and the other is the historical confirmation of the worship of *Ekapāda Bhairava* in Orissa.[184] Early images of this *Ekapāda* mūrti are found in Orissa and do indeed considerably resemble the earliest known sculpture of Jagannātha and further, such an identification would fit well in an early stage of History of Religions in Orissa when Śaivism was predominant.

Sculptural representations of *Ekapāda Bhairava* from Koṇārka and from other places of Orissa show a striking similarity with the Jagannātha image. The image of *Ekapāda Bhairava* observed at Koṇārka possesses the round eyes expressive of the Ugra aspect of the deity. But, unlike Narasiṁha, he really is a post (*stāṇu*) with one foot only rooted in the earth, one leg only rising from the ground. The leg gradually increases in width to merge with the trunk of the deity. This gives to *Ekapāda Bhairava* the peculiar inverted conical shape, with a narrow base and a wide top, which is also present in the early Jagannātha images. In a passage recurring in different tāntric texts in connection with Śākta tīrthas of India and their presiding deities, Puri is mentioned with Vimaḷā as the Śakti and Jagannātha as the corresponding Bhairava.[185] One of the texts in which this passage occurs, the *Rudrayāmala Tantra*, has been mentioned in a manuscript of the *Brahmayāmaḷa Tantra* dated 1052 A.D., i.e., at the time corresponding in Orissa to the Somavaṁśī period.[186] As simultaneously Śaivism and Śāktism flourished in Orissa, we notice the image of Durgā-Mādhava engraved on the Bhogamaṇḍapa of Jagannātha temple. This image is situated at the northern side of the Bhogamaṇḍapa. Here Jagannātha is shown along with Śiva and Durgā. This is the most significant sculpture which proves the Śaiva-component of Jagannātha Cult.

Historically, it can be evidenced that the worship of *Ekapāda Bhairava* in Orissa was widespread and flourished in the Bhauma-Kara and Somavaṁśī period. There are numerous stone images of the god in Puri itself and several representations on the early Śaiva and Śākta monuments of coastal Orissa. One Ekapāda image of Śiva is noticed on the front facade of the Śikhara of Śiśireśvara temple at Bhubanewsar. On the basis of the iconographic features of the images on it, the temple is assigned to the Bhauma-Kara period.[187]

With the first wave of Vaiṣṇavism in Orissa, the worship of Narasiṁha was acknowledged by Śaivism. The Siṁhanātha temple is an early example of such an integrated worship in Orissa. Narasiṁha, namely a figure with a lion head, is depicted as being in reality Śiva, holding a trident and associated with a tribal cult. Narasiṁha was not only incorporated into Śaivism, but also associated with Bhairava.[188]

It has been thus evidenced that the Jagannātha figures are the typical outcome of a process of Hinduization where uniconical symbols of aboriginal religions as posts and stones are

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combined with a Hindu deity and at a certain stage of intensive Hinduization changed their iconography such as to represent a rudimentary anthropomorphic image.

Khambheśvarī

Jagannātha was Narasiṁha as well as Kṛṣṇa around 1300 A.D. The deity worshipped as Narasiṁha and Kṛṣṇa was known as Puruṣottama. The concept of Puruṣottama constitutes a link between the inconological character of the two deities. Both Narasiṁha and Puruṣottama are two Viṣṇuite deities endowed with Tāntric-Śāktic characteristics and could thus be gradually combined.

An important role to bring Viṣṇuism and Śāktism together has been played by the *Devīmāhātmya* of *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa*, a text which originated in about 5th c.A.D. and is even to this day regarded as the most important text of the Śāktas. In the very beginning of the text, the Mother Goddess has been described as Bhagavatī and the Nidrā of Viṣṇu[189] as well as Mahāmāyā.[190] She is the *Ekānaṁśā* of *Harivaṁśa.*[191]

By the advent of Śāktism in Orissa, Subhadrā was added later to an existing Jagannātha-Narasiṁha figure. The association of the Mother-Goddess with Śiva is no doubt older. Ambikā or Umā gradually gets united with Śiva as his wife. As Śaivites appreciated the Mother-Goddess as the wife of Śiva, the Vaiṣṇavas/Bhāgavatas also endeavoured to incorporate the mother into their cult and to associate her with Kṛṣṇa/Viṣṇu/Jagannātha.

The inconography of Subhadrā corresponds to the usual iconography of a tribal deity has been Hinduized by being identified with a Śākta goddess and resembles particularly to the iconography of the Hinduized goddess Khambheśvarī, the pillar-goddess. Both, the figures of Khambheśvarī and of Jagannātha developed from the same tribal substract. Many features in the mode of worship of Subhadrā point to the fact that she was originally a Śākta goddess; the most important of these is that she is still worshipped with a Śākta Mantra, the mantra of Bhuvaneśvarī.[192]

The figure of Khambheśvarī in Aska (Ganjam) resembles very much with the figure of Subhadrā in Puri. There are only marginal differences : the shape of Subhadrā's head is slightly different, more oval, and the present Jagannātha figures all have a waist line, whereas the body of Khambheśvarī in Aska is a straight pole. The main image of the place is striking. It consists of a stone pole, which has been anthropomorphized by the addition of a disk as head. This image confirms that gradually the pillar-post has been converted into an image in order to appear somehow as a human being. It is also noteworthy to record here that a wooden pole stands opposite to the main door of the Aska temple and in front of the main image of the goddess. This wooden pole presides over the sacrificial pit observed in the temple.

Subhadrā is not only Stambheśvarī. She has close associations with Durgā, Bhuvaneśvarī, Lakṣmī, Kamalā and finally she has been treated as *Ekānaṁśā*. She is worshipped as Durgā, even today, in the western parts of Orissa. During the Muhammedan ascendency in India, Śāktism had a great sway over the people and so the worship of *Ekānaṁśā* was a regular phenomenon all over the country. The two deities *Ekānaṁśā* and Subhadrā were described

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side by side as the sister of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma from the days of the *Mahābhārata*,[193] both were treated as identical by the 8th century A.D. Curiously enough, the *Utkala-Khaṇḍa* of *Skanda-Purāṇa* attempts to identify Subhadrā with Lakṣmī. In one passage of the same, Subhadrā is described as the Śakti of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa inspite of her being a sister of the latter.[194] According to the *Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa,* the image of *Ekānaṁśā* should be placed in between Baladeva and Kṛṣṇa and that her left hand should rest on the waist and the right should carry a lotus.[195] The association of the Mother Goddess with Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma in the 1st c. A.D., is also attested by a relief of the Kuṣāṇa period found in Mathura and now preserved in Karachi Museum in which this *Ekānaṁśā*, the Nidrā of Viṣṇu or the Yogamāyā is depicted as standing in the middle with Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma on either sides.[196] We have three more representations of this trinity: in the rock temple of Ellora (7th c.),[197] and on two stone penals found in Etah (U.P.) and Imadpur (Bihar) respectively, both belonging to the 11th-12th centuries.[198] A small brass plate preserved in the state Museum of Orissa shows also the *Ekānaṁśā* trinity, i.e., *Ekānaṁśā* Balarama and Kṛṣṇa.[199]

The *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra* (Ca. 800 A.D.) in its section "*Puruṣottama Sthāpaṇa Paṭalam*" identifies *Ekānaṁśā* with Subhadrā. This text also mentions that Subhadrā should be placed on the right side of the Lord Puruṣottama and on the left of Balarāma whose eyes are rolling through excessive drink. This procedure of placing the deities has been followed in the temple of Jagannātha.[200]

Lakṣmī-Nṛsiṁha Couple

With the appearance of Viṣṇuism in Orissa, a region mainly devoted to the cult of Mother Goddess and Tāntrism, the wooden post god gradually assumes the character of Narasiṁha owing to its iconographical features and owing to the need of the newly converted Vaiṣṇavas. This furious deity in the pantheon of Vaiṣṇavas came to be regarded as a proper substitute for the Śāktistic deities like Cāmuṇḍā, Vārāhi, Kālī, Durgā or even Bhairava (Śaiva - Śākta). The pair of wooden post god (Jagannātha) and the wooden pillar-goddess (Stambheśvarī/Subhadrā) is perhaps worshipped as Narasiṁha and Lakṣmī, a concept which has been very popular in the religious history of Orissa. A temple of Lakṣmī-Nṛsiṁha exists in the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneswar and confirms the worship of above pair. In the advanced stage of Viṣṇuization, the pair was conceived as 'Puruṣottama' and Lakṣmī. This pair was so popular and important that Coḍagaṅgaḍeva patronizes its cult and built a temple for them.

Introduction of Balabhadra's Image

The image of Balabhadra was later added into sanctum in order to change the character and the concept of the two deities from husband and wife to brother and sister. The reformers indirectly introduced the conception of Śiva/Śaṁkarṣaṇa/Balarāma into the cult of Jagannātha. The Śaiva component of Jagannātha Cult took a new shape in the unification of Śākta, Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava typology of Hinduization.

Balabhadra stands for the Noumenal and the Transcendent - the unchangeable, the

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unqualified, the unmanifest, the pure absolute, Śiva or "the pure form of the good" or the pure form of reason (Aristotle), the Cit or "the pure consciousness" (Advaita), the ungiven - the infinite (*purṇamadaḥ*) and full in itself. According to the Vyūha theory of the Pañcarātra philosophy the one, Transcendent and the Highest God, termed Vāsudeva, manifests itself in three lower forms which are known as Śaṁkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha. Of these, Śaṁkarṣaṇa is endowed with the characteristics of jñāna and bala, Pradyumna with those of aiśvarya and vīrya and Aniruddha with śakti and tejas. *Sanatkumāra-Saṁhitā* identifies Vāsudeva with Viṣṇu, Śaṁkarṣaṇa with Śiva, Pradyumna with Brahmā and Aniruddha with 'Puruṣottama'.[201] The *Sanatkumāra-Saṁhitā* also refers to Śaṁkarṣaṇa as Śiva.[202] The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* mentions Balabhadra as Śaṁkarṣaṇa.[203] He is described as Śeṣadeva in the purāṇas.[204] The *Brahma-Purāṇa* states that Rudra is known as Halayudha (Balarāma) in one of his incarnations[205] and the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* speaks of Śaṁkaraṣaṇa-Rudra who comes out of the mouth of Balarāma at the end of every Kalpa "to destroy the world".[206]

The characteristic of jñāna of Śaṁkarṣaṇa connects him again closely with Śiva. Śiva is considered in the Indian Āgamic-Tāntric tradition - and not only in this - to be the supreme teacher, the Guru par excellence. This aspect of Śiva finds most eloquent expression in his *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* form in which he teaches the mysteries of philosophies to his Bhaktas and others. Śaṁkarṣaṇa in the Pañcarātra philosophy is that of destruction, his ethical duty consists of "the teaching of the 'śāstra' and of 'theory', namely of the Monotheism (*ekānta mārga*)". This 'ethical activity' of Śaṁkarṣaṇa has been mentioned in the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*.[207]

Since Śaṁkarṣaṇa is completely identical with Balabhadra, who is an incarnation of the former, it was possible to introduce Śiva at a certain stage as Balabhadra/Śaṁkarṣaṇa to satisfy the feelings of the Śaivites of Orissa. Balabhadra was placed as the elder brother of Kṛṣṇa/Puruṣottama. By the introduction of Balabhadra's image to the former Lakṣmī-Nṛsiṁha couple, a complete unification among Saivism, Śāktism and Vaiṣṇavism has been attained.

Royal Patronage in Establishing the Jagannātha Triad

The beginning of worship of the stone images of Balarāma, Ekānaṁśā and Kṛṣṇa in the Kuṣāṇa period is now definitely known by the discovery of a relief of that period carved in the red sandstone.[208] The two armed figure of Balarāma holds a plough in his right hand. There is no hood of serpents over his head. Subhadrā, standing in the middle has her right hand raised while left hand is placed akimbo. Kṛṣṇa has got four hands having a Gadā (a mace) in his upper right hand, Cakra (the wheel) in upper left hand, Padma (the lotus) in lower left hand and the lower right hand is shown in Abhaya Mudrā. This excellent relief found near Mathura is now deposited in the Government Museum at Karachi.[208A]

Another relief depicting the worship of the holy Triad found in Bihar is now preserved in London Museum.[209] It is important as it contains an institution of the time of Mahipāla (10th century) king of Bihar. The important feature of this relief is the four armed Balarāma shown under a canopy of seven-hooded serpent. Subhadrā stands on a full bloomed lotus. Her right hand is shown in 'Varda Mudrā' while she holds a mirror in her left hand. Kṛṣṇa is shown with four hands.

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In a relief in the Lucknow Museum we find the figures of Balarāma, Subhadrā and Kṛṣṇa among whom Subhadrā is given much prominence.[210] In the Orissa state Museum is preserved a bronze plaque containing the image of Balarāma, Subhadrā and Jagannātha standing on the pedestal. The two armed Balarāma wears Kirīṭa and Mukuṭa and stands under a canopy of three-hooded serpent. He holds a Muṣala in his right hand and a Hala in his left hand. Subhadrā stands in the middle holding a full-blown lotus in her right hand while her left hand is shown in Barad Mudrā. SrīKṛṣṇa is two armed holding a Gadā in his right hand and Padma in his left hand. This is definitely very old as the reliefs found in U.P., Bihar containing four armed figures of Balabhadra and Kṛṣṇa. It may be assigned to the sixth or the seventh century A.D.[211] There is a ruined brick temple in village Turintarā under Bālipāṭnā P.S., Puri district where we find three stone images of Balabhadra, Subhadrā and Kṛṣṇa carved separately in three chlorite stones. Balabhadra is four armed standing under a seven-hooded Nāga holding Muṣala in his lower right hand and Hala in the lower left hand. Other two arms are broken. There are two '*Cāmaradhārinīs*' one on each side. There is a Makara Toraṇa over his head flanked by two flying Apsarās at two top corners. Subhadrā is two armed. Her right hand is broken while there is a 'Vikaca Padma' in the left hand. There is also trifoil 'Toraṇa' over her head with a Kīrtimukha in the centre. Both Balabhadra and Kṛṣṇa wear Kirīṭa, Mukuṭa and Banamāḷā. This temple was built by Baghala Devi, the queen of Aniyankabhīmadeva II (1190-1198 A.D.)[212] and the village is still called Bagalapura after her name.

Under a special royal impact during the reign of Coḍagaṅgadeva, the process of Kṛṣṇaization attained its highest peak and the cult was given the political importance. But it was only the Emperor Anaṅgabhīma who established the combination of Puruṣottama, Śiva and Durgā to be worshipped together. In the Drākṣarama inscription of the year 1216, Anaṅgabhīma is praised as the son of the three most powerful deities of Orissa : Puruṣottama, Śiva and Durgā.[213]

The first epigraphical mention of the Jagannātha Triad is noticed in another inscription of the time of Anaṅgabhīma. This is located at the Pātāleśvara temple in the inner compound of the Jagannātha temple. The three deities Halin (Balabhadra), Cakrin (Kṛṣṇa) and Subhadrā are praised in the inscription.[214] The donative inscription of the Ananta-Vāsudeva temple in Puri and the Pātāleśvara inscription of Anaṅgabhīmadeva reveal many facts in favour of Puruṣottama triad.[215] The *Pañcarātra* interpretation provided a possibility to worship Śiva and Durgā as subsidiary deities to Kṛṣṇa. This interpretation led the king to combine Yājapura, Bhubaneswar and Puri to one sovereign. The main aim was to worship the deities of Yājapura and Bhubanswar in Puri and to subordinate them to his rāṣṭra devatā, Puruṣottama-Kṛṣṇa.

From the time of Anaṅgabhīma onwards, the Jagannātha Triad is interpreted as Kṛṣṇa (a sub-aspect of Puruṣottama), Ekānaṁśā-Subhadrā-Durgā and Balabhadra-Śiva, though the trinity retains its Viṣṇuite character essentially. These three deities represent the Vaiṣṇava, Śākta and the Śaiva traditions of Orissa.

Manifestation of Caturddhā Mūrti

Later, the Ugra or the 'furious' aspect of Narasiṁha (Viṣṇu) was personified by the admission of an extra image to Jagannātha Triad. This is the image of Sudarśana, who is

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perfectly identical with Narasiṁha in the *Pañcarātra* philosophy. Sudarśana is now noticed in the form of a straight pole,[216] which had previously been used probably as the *Calanti Pratimā* (the movable image) of Narasiṁha (the present Jagannātha). The *Abhimanyu-Saṁhitā* describes Sudarśana as a form of Viṣṇu which He has assumed in order to destroy the demons[217] etc. Sudarśana Cakra is thus the main weapon in the hand of Viṣṇu. The cult image of the Narasiṁha temple in the Varadarāja temple in Kāñcipuram shows Narasiṁha in the front and Sudarśana in the rear.[218]

Thus, the identification of Narasiṁha with Sudarśana and vice versa paved grounds for the development of the Caturddhā-mūrti in the temple of Lord Jagannātha. The Narasiṁha worship and its connection with the wooden posts was accordingly retained in the Jagannātha Cult. The iconographical and the historical evidences confirm the fact that the wooden figures of Jagannātha temple have attained the present form gradually through radical changes, both in shapes and in numbers. The true origin of the deities goes back to the tribal cult which has undergone a comprehensive process of Hinduization of its deity and has reached the present status of Caturddhā-mūrti,[219] viz., Jagannātha, Balabhadra, Subhadrā and Sudarśana.

As told before, our purāṇa the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* deals with all the details of this cult. The most authentic and complete picture of the cult of Jagannātha as depicted in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* is given in course of our discussions in the following chapters.

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    Tathaiva sabjayugalam...../"
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Vaiśyair vāratrayaṁ śūdraiścaturvāraṁ tadācaret//
Pūjāyāṁ jalapātraṁ vai Brāhmaṇaṁ ca vinā nṛpa/
Na spṛśet ko'pi tatpātraṁ tatra yatnaṁ mahat kuru//"
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Oḍra-deśo'sti vikhyāto nānā-tīrtha-vibhūṣitaḥ//
Tasminnāste mahākṣetraṁ pavitraṁ puruṣottamam/
Tatra nīlācale ramye mādhavo nīla-sundaraḥ//"

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"Ado yaddāru plavate sindhoḥ pāre apūruṣam/
Tadā rabhasva durhaṇo tena gaccha parastaram//"

56. *N.M.*, 5.109-115.

57. See above fn.55.

58. *Ṛg-veda,* Vaidic Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala, Poona, Vol. IV. MX. SU. 155, Mantra 3, p.841 :
"Yaddāru dārumayaṁ puruṣottamākhyaṁ devatā śarīraṁ....." (Śāyaṇa)

59. *Ṛg-veda*, X, 81.4, pp.563-564 (Wilson's Ṛg-veda, Vol.VI) :
"Kiṁ svidvanaṁ ka u sa bṛkṣa āsa yāto dyāvā pṛthivī nistata kṣuḥ/
Manīṣi-no manasā pṛchhatedu tadyadadhyatiṣthad Bhuvanāni dhārayan//"
Śāyaṇa while giving the interpretation of this Sūkta concludes saying in the last portion of this Sūkta:
"Kiṁ ca Īśvaraḥ Bhuvanāni dhārayan yat sthānaṁ adhyatisthat tat api pṛchata : etasya sarvasyāpyuttaraṁ Brahma sa vṛkṣa āsit ityādikamuttaraṁ."

60. *Bhagavad Gītā*, XV. Śl.1 : "Urdhva mūḷaṁ adhaḥ sākha....."

61. *Atharva Veda* - Paipalāda Saṁhitā (Lahore), Vol.8.7, 'Ado yaddāru'.

62. Sarkar, G., *Mandirer Kathā*, I; R.C. Majumdar, *Hindu Mythology and Culture*, Vol.I, p.160; Dāru Devatā, p.145; N.K. Sahu, *History of Orissa*, p.8; W.J. Wilkins, *Hindu Mythology*, p.208.

63. Ganguli, M.M., *Orissa and Her Remains*, p.399.

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64. *Chāndogya,* I. 1.1; III. 12.4; III. 16.1; IV. 15.1; VI. 14.1; VI. 15.1.
Taittirīya, II. 1; V. 3.
Bṛhadāraṇyaka, I. 13.15; IV. 4.12.
Praśana, IV. 1 and Muṇḍaka, I. 1.7.

65. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka,* IV. 3.8, 9, 18, 19; IV. 4.5. *Chāndogya,* III. 12.4; V. 6.7; *Kāṭha*, II. 3.17.
Śvetāśvatara, IV. 7; *Praśana*, VI. 5.

66. *Chāndogya,* IV. 15.5; *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, VI. 1.15; *Muṇḍaka,* I. 2.11.

67. *Kaṭha*, I. 3.11; II. 2.8; *Muṇḍaka*, III. 2.8.

68. *Ibid.*

69. *Śvetaśvatara*, III. 8, 9, 12 and 19.

70. *Bhagavad Gītā*, 15.16-18.

71. *Ṛg-veda,* X. 90.

72. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,* V. 2.3.6; V. 4.5.1; XII. 4.1.5 etc.

73. *Skanda Purāṇa*, Bombay edn., VI. 239.

74. *N.M.*, 5.116a : "Balaṁ puruṣasūktena...../"

75. *Mahābhārata,* Udyogaparva, Adhy. 129.

76. *Ibid.*, Bhīṣmaparva, 33.5-31.

77. *Ibid.,* Aśvamedhikaparva, Adhy. 54.

78. *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, Uttarākaṇḍa, 108.28 :
"Kiṁ cānyadvaktu michhāmi rākṣasendra mahābalaḥ/
Ārādhāya Jagannāthaṁ Ikṣvāku Kuladaivataṁ//"

79. Winternitz, M., *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, Epics and Purāṇas, p.493.

80. *Mbh.*, III. 114.22 ff.

81. *Ibid.*, III. 114.17-24.

82. *P.M.*, 37.55.

83. *N.M.*, 4.94b : "Yajñavedyāṁ tato brahman saptadhāso'vatāravān//"

84. *Viṣṇu-dharmottara Purāṇa,* Ch.1, p.3 : "Yajñesu devayajanaṁ antarvedī prakīrttitāḥ"

85. *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, II. 6, 4, 3.

86. *Mbh.*, Śāntiparva, 346.10-11 :
"Nāradena tu samprāptaḥ sarahasyaḥ sasaṁgrahaḥ/
Eṣodharmo Jagannāthāt sāksāt nārāyaṇāt nṛpaḥ//
Evameṣa mahāndharmaḥ sate purvanṛpotama/
Kathito harigītāsu samasā-vidhi kalpitaḥ//"

87. *Matsya-Purāṇa,* 13.35; 22.38.

88. *Viṣṇu*, I.XV.52; *Agni,* Ch.63; *Padma*, Ch.158.1-6, Ch.18; *Nārada*, Ch.52.41-93; *Brahma,* Ch.48; *Skanda,* XX. 35-36.

89. *Padma, Pātālakhaṇḍa*, Chs.16-26;
Brahma, Chs. 42-52;
Skanda, Puruṣottama Māhātmyam, Chs.15-23.

90. *Agni-Purāṇa,* Ch.63.

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91. *Padma-Purāṇa,* Pātālakhaṇḍa, Ch.18.
92. *Brahma-Purāṇa*, 45.71-76.
93. *Nārada-Purāṇa,* Indradyumna Upākhyān; *L.V.,* p.22.
94. *Padma-Purāṇa,* Gurumaṇḍala, p.69, Ch.19. 16-37.
95. *Ibid.,* p.76, Ch.21.6.
96. *Ibid.*, p.483, Part V, Ch.132, Sl.38 and p.1046, Part V, Krīyā yogasāra, 17.7-8.
97. *Ibid.*, p.1048, Śl.5.1.
98. *L.V.*, pp.23-24.
99. *N.M.*, 1.13b: "Tīrthānāṁ kṣetrarāśīnāṁ madhye śrī puruṣottamaḥ//"
100. *N.M.*, 1.64b-65a :
"Viśvāvasurnāma tadā tannirmālyaṁ samaharet//
Nīlamādhavamūrttestu viṣṇorāyatana sthalaṁ/"
101. *N.M.*, 1.67 :
"Kadācittatra Nīlādrau tṛṣārttaḥ kāka āgataḥ/
Ayatnānmādhavaṁ dṛṣṭvā rohiṇīkuṇḍa sambhavaṁ//"
102. *N.M.*, 1.68 :
"Jalaṁ pitvā vimuktātmā śaṁkha gadāvjadhṛk/
Saṁprāpya harisāropyaṁ vaikuṇṭhaṁ prati niryayau//"
103. *N.M.*, 1.69b : "Adhikārakṣayaṁ dṛṣṭvā mādhavaṁ stutavān yamaḥ//"
104. *N.M.*, 1.73 :
"Tavādhikāraḥ sarvatra hyāste putra punaḥ prabho/
Pañcakrośe mahākṣetre nāsti te'dhikṛtiḥ kṣitan//"
105. *Dynasties of the Kaliage*, Introduction; *J.M.*, pp.10-11.
106. *L.V.*, p.25; *Kapila Saṁhitā*, pp.8-19.
107. *Sāraḷā Mahābhārata in Oriya*, Vana Parva and Muṣali Parva.
108. *L.V.*, p.27.
109. Dāsa, Nīlāmbara, *Deula Tolā in Oriya.*
110. Dāsa, Śiśu Kṛṣṇa, *Deula Tolā*, p.3.
111. *Mbh.*, III. Ch.198; *C.J.*, p.83.
112. Dāsa, Jagannātha, *Dārubrahma Gītā.*
113. *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, V, Ch.XXXIII.
114. Basham, A.L., *A Cultural History of India,* 1975 edn., p.28.
115. *Ibid.*, p.43.
116. *H.O.*, 1960 edn., p.508.
117. *Ibid.*
118. Mitra, R.L., *Sanskrit and Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, p.90.
119. *E.I.*, Vol.VI and IX (The inscriptions of Mādhava Rāj II).
120. *C.J.R.T.O.*, p.5 and fn.5.

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122. *E.I.*, Vol. XXVIII, p.180.
123. Panigrahi, K.C., *Itihāsa o Kimvadantī*, p.9.
124. Das, Biswarup, *The Bhauma-Karas and Their Times,* 1978 edn., p.152.
125. Mishra, B., *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, p.66.
126. Panigrahi, K.C., *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, pp.153-155.
127. *J.A.S.B.*, (Letters), Vol. LXXIII, pp.282-286, 1.24.
128. *E.I.*, Vol.III, pp.41-50, 1.29.
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130. *E.I.*, Vol.XXIX, p.38, 11, 24-25.
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133. Mukherji, P., *H.M.V.O.*, pp.20-21.
134. *Ibid.*
135. Mishra, B., *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, pp.19 ff.
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139. *E.I*, Vol.II, pp.184-201; *I.O.*, Vol.4, p.69sq.
140. *C.J.R.T.O.*, p.12 and fn.35.
141. Sirpur stone inscription, *E.I.*, Vol.II, p.184-201, Verses 1-3.
142. *Ibid.*
143. Gayā inscription of the time of Nārāyaṇa Pāla, *E.I.*, Vol.35, p.226sq.
144. *O.I.*, p.563 and *L.V.*, p.34.
145. Gargavatu, R., *Brahmeśvara inscription,* p.8; *L.V.*, p.34 and fn.201A.
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150. *I.O.*, Vol.3/1, No.120.
151. *L.V.*, p.35.
152. Mukherji, P., *History of Medieval Vaiṣṇavism in Orissa*, p.30.
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160. *H.O.*, 1960 edn., p.511.
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163. *Ibid.*
164. *J.A.S.B.*, 1893, Vol.LXII, pp.91-98.
165. Mahanti, A.B., *Mādaḷā Pāñji*, p.106; *O.I.*, p.572.
166. *Caitanya-Caritāmṛta-Kāvya*, III, 10.17.
167. *C.J.*, p.54.
168. *C.J.R.T.O.*, p.317.
169. *Śūnya Saṁhitā*, X; *Prema Bhakti Brahma Gītā*, III.
170. *J.A.S.B.*, 1893, No.2.
171. Mahanti, A.B., *Mādaḷā Pāñji*, Prācī edition, p.63.
172. *Ibid.*, pp.63-64.
173. *Mahapatra, K.N., Khurudhā Itihāsa*, pp.12, 14, 15, 20.
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177. Trower, Collector, Cuttack to Commissioner, 2nd October, 1818, (Orissa State Archives).
178. Collector of pilgrim-tax to Board of Revenue, 29th December, 1807, *J.T.C.*, Part, 1.
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180. *Ibid.*
181. *P.M.*, 28.52cd-53.
182. *N.M.*, 5.162a : "Sākṣānnṛsiṁho bhagavān padmāsana gataḥ prabhuḥ/"
183. *C.J.R.T.O.*, Ch.5 and 6.
184. *Ibid.*, Ch.6, pp.119-123.
185. "Oḍreṣu Vimaḷā śaktir Jagannāthastu Bhairavaḥ".
186. Sastri, H.P., *Report on the search of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, 1906-1911, p.3 quoted by K.N. Mahapatra, 1954, p.11.
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188. *C.J.R.T.O.*, p.175.
189. *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa*, I. 70.
190. *Ibid.*, I. 56.
191. *Harivaṁśa*, II. 2.40.
192. *N.M.*, Mode of Worship of Subhadrā, Ch.88.
193. *C.J.*, p.216.

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194. *Skanda-Purāṇa,* Ch.XX, Verse 31.

195. *Vṛṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa,* III, 85.71-72.

196. *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, 58.37 :
"Ekānaṁśā kāryā devī baladevakṛṣṇayor madhye/
Kaṭisaṁsthila vāmakarā sarojamitareṇa codvahatī//"

197. Kumar, Krishna, An Ekānaṁśā Relief at Ellora, in *Journal of Indian History*, Vol.443, pp.831-838.

198. Mahapatra, K.N., The Worship of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā in *Śrī Jagannātha Smaraṇikā,* Delhi, 1969, p.49.

199. *C.J.R.T.O.*, p.180.

200. The Cult of Ekānaṁśā, *I.H.Q.,* Vol.XXXV, No.3, 1959, pp.202-203.

201. Schrader, F.O., *Introduction to the Pañcarātra and the Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā*, Madras, 1916, 35f.

202. *Sanatkumara Saṁhitā*, III. 6.6, 7ab :
"Śaṁkarṣaṇaḥ sa nāmābhud viṣṇuḥ sarvatra sañjitaḥ/
Tam eva śaṁkaram prāhuḥ kṣayakartāram īśvaram//
Kṣaye śaṁkarṣaṇāt tasmāt purāṇajñaḥ pracakṣate/"

203. *N.M.*, 5.192b. : "Śaṁkarṣaṇaṁ ca pradyumnamaniruddhaṁ tathā dvijāḥ//"

204. *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, V.25; *N.M.*, 5.163a : "Baḷastadā śeṣarūpaṁ ...../"

205. *Brahma-Purāṇa,* 23.132.

206. *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, II. 5.19.

207. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa,* VI. 11.21.

208. Mahapatra, K.N., The Worship of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā in *Śrī Jagannātha Smaraṇikā,* Vol.I, pp.49-50.

208A. Mahapatra, G.N., *Jagannātha in History and Religious Traditions of Orissa*, p.6.

209. *Ibid.*

210. *Ibid.*, p.7.

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212. *Ibid.*, p.8.

213. Śrī-Puruṣottama-putra, Rudra-putra, Durgā-putra (Drākṣarāma inscription of the 8th anka of Anaṅgabhīma III), *SII*, Vol.IV, No.1329.

214. *E.I.*, Vol.XXX, p.202.

215. Acharya, P., The Commemorative Inscription of the Ananta-Vāsudeva Temple at Bhubaneswar, in *O.H.R.J.*, I.4, 1953, pp.274-288.

216. *N.M.*, 4.13b : "Sudarśanaḥ stambharūpī vabhuva vijitendriyaḥ//"

217. *Abhimanyu-Saṁhitā*, 30.16 and 30.19.

218. *C.J.R.T.O.*, p.186.

219. The Nīlādri-Mahodayam mentions three more images present in the Jagannātha temple and thereby refers to Saptadhā-murti: Jagannātha, Balabhadra, Subhadrā, Sudarśana, Mādhava, Pṛthivī and Lakṣmī. *N.M.*, 5.105b: "Mādhavaṁ ca Dharaṁ Lakṣmīṁ atharvaṇarucā stavan//"

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CHAPTER - 2

DATE OF NĪLĀDRI-MAHODAYAM

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, a *Sthaḷa-Purāṇa* was compiled after the model of the *Puruṣottama-Māhātmyam*[1] of the *Skanda-Purāṇa*. It describes the cult of Jagannātha vividly, right from the origin of the Lord to its worship. But its speciality lies in giving detailed description about the various festivals of Lord Jagannātha and the mode of their observances. It also supplies a lot of information about the daily *pūjāpaddhati* or mode of worship of Jagannātha and other subsidiary deities. Besides these, it offers a comprehensive picture of the-then Orissa, its philosophy and religion, geography and its socio-cultural systems. Therefore, it is quite essential to ascertain the exact time of its composition on the basis of the internal evidences furnished thereby in the purāṇa itself and the external evidences gathered from other historical sources and contemporary literature. At the beginning of this investigation, it is required first to trace out the position of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* in the chronology of the purāṇas. This study again demands a clarification about the close association of the three texts, viz., *Skanda-Purāṇa, Sūta-Saṁhitā* and the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*.

Each chapter of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* closes with the sentence - "*Iti Śrī Sūta Saṁhitāyaṁ Nīlādri Mahodaye Śrī Puruṣottama Kṣetra Māhātmye.....*", from which it seems that the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* is closely associated with the *Sūta-Saṁhitā*. However, there is no doubt that this work is a benevolent attempt on the cult of Jagannātha after the *Puruṣottama-Māhātmyam* of *Skanda-Purāṇa*.

Skanda-Purāṇa : Features and Date

As stated above, the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* was compiled after the *Puruṣottama-Māhātmyam*, which, like *Sūta-Saṁhitā*, is a component of the *Skanda-Purāṇa*. Therefore before fixing any date or time for the composition of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, the dates of the *Skanda-Purāṇa, Sūta-Saṁhitā* and *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra Māhātmyam* are to be determined.

The *Skanda-Purāṇa* is the largest amongst the eighteen purāṇas. The length of the *Skanda-Purāṇa* as stated in *Matsya-Purāṇa*[2] is 81,100 ślokas. But as stated in itself it consists of 81,000 ślokas[3] only. However, considering this vastness of the *Skanda-Purāṇa* and its numerous interpolations, it becomes too difficult to fix the date of its composition.[4] This ancient longest purāṇa, probably, is entirely lost; for though there is a considerable number of more or less extensive works claiming to be *Saṁhitās* and *Khaṇḍas* of the *Skanda-Purāṇa*, and an almost overwhelming mass of *Māhātmyas* which give themselves out as portions of this purāṇa.[5] Texts which are considered as belonging to the *Skanda-Purāṇa* inform us[6] that there are six *Saṁhitās*, namely *Sanatkumarīya, Sūta, Brāhmī, Vaiṣṇavī, Sāṅkarī* and *Saurī-Saṁhitā*.

As per the *Khaṇḍa* divisions of the *Skanda-Purāṇa*, the second *Khaṇḍa* (part) is known as the *Vaiṣṇava Khaṇḍa* which incorporates the *Puruṣottama-Māhātmyam* as one of its major portions. The references of the Viṣṇuite[7] concept in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* gives evidences that the present purāṇa *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* is no doubt a Viṣṇuite purāṇa like

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Puruṣottama-Kṣetra-Māhātmyam. The terms Jagannātha, Viṣṇu, Mādhava, Kṛṣṇa, Vāsudeva, etc., are found many a times in different chapters (Adhyāyas) of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* and confirm the Viṣṇuite version of the purāṇa. Thus, the time of *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* comes sometimes after the time of *Vaiṣṇava-Khaṇḍa* or *Utkala-Khaṇḍa* of *Skanda-Purāṇa*. The time of the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, the original Viṣṇuite purāṇa was supposedly written sometimes between 1000-1300 A.D.,[8] though Pargiter places it around 500 A.D., which is approximately the date of the *Padma-Purāṇa* as well.[9]

Prof. Baladeva Upadhyaya places the composition of the *Vaiṣṇava-Khaṇḍa* during 13th century[10] or after the *Skanda-Purāṇa* which was composed somewhere between 7th and 9th century. But, one very ancient palm leaf manuscript in Gupta script was discovered in Nepal by Dr. Haraprasad Sastri who had assigned the *Skanda-Purāṇa* to 7th century A.D.[11] The same date was predicted by C. Bendall on palaeographical grounds.[12] Haraprasad considers the text of this palm leaf manuscript, which calls itself simply, '*Skanda-Purāṇa*', to be the original *Skanda-Purāṇa* though no *Khaṇḍa* is named in the colophons of the MS.

Dr. G.N. Mahapatra has established that the fifth *Khaṇḍa* was composed a little before the *Garuḍa-Purāṇa*.[13] But, the *Garuḍa-Purāṇa* in its present form came to light before the 9th or 10th century.[14] This may be considered as the time of the fifth *Khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda-Purāṇa* (*Avantī-Khaṇḍa*). From the established scheme of the *Khaṇḍas* of the *Skanda-Purāṇa*, the *Vaiṣṇava-Khaṇḍa* was composed before the *Avantī-Khaṇḍa*. So, the *Vaiṣṇava-Khaṇḍa* is older than *Avantī-Khaṇḍa* which was written before 9th century[15] and was also contemporaneous with the *Garuḍa-Purāṇa*.

It may thus be concluded that the Viṣṇuite purāṇa *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* being a model of the *Vaiṣṇava-Khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda-Purāṇa* must have been composed after this *Khaṇḍa* or some years after 9th century. The *Vaiṣṇava-Khaṇḍa* describes in detail the mode of worship in the Jagannātha temple, the great car festival of the Lord, *Rohiṇī-Kuṇḍa-Māhātmyam* and *Mahāprasāda-Mahattva*[16] as the *Sthaḷa-Purāṇa Nīlādri-Mahodayam*[17] does.

Sūta-Saṁhitā

As we find, the author of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* refers to the *Sūta-Saṁhitā* at the end of each chapter. It is therefore, our first duty to concentrate our attention on *Sūta-Saṁhitā* in order to study its nature and date.

Sūta-Saṁhitā is a work of some bulk[18] consisting of six thousand ślokas.[19] It consists of four *Khaṇḍas*, viz., (1) *Śiva-Māhātmya-Khaṇḍa*, (2) *Jñānayoga-Khaṇḍa*, (3) *Mukti-Khaṇḍa*, (4) *Yajñavaibhava-Khaṇḍa*. The first one consists of 13 chapters and is devoted wholly to the worship of Śiva. The second section consists of 20 chapters and deals not only with Yoga, but also with the duties of the Castes and Āśramas. The third section teaches ways and means of attaining salvation and contains in it 29 chapters. The fourth section is the biggest amongst all and it has two parts, namely, *Pūrvabhāga* and *Uttarabhāga*. The former one consists of 47 chapters and the latter one consists of only 12 chapters. The *Yajñavaibhava-Khaṇḍa* of *Sūta-Saṁhitā* begins with rules about Vedic-Brāhmaṇical ceremonies, and then deals with 'the

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sacrifice of meditation' and 'the sacrifice of knowledge', as well as with devotion to Śiva (śivabhakti). The second part contains a Śivaite-Brahmagītā and a Vedāntist Sūtagītā.

From the above analysis, it is clear that the *Sūta-Saṁhitā* in its nature is quite different from the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*. The former is fully devoted to the worship of Śiva while the latter deals with Viṣṇu-worship. The text of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* does not find its inclusion in any of the four *Khaṇḍas* of the *Sūta-Saṁhitā*. Only the rules of the Vedic-Brāhmaṇical ceremonies are to a some extent followed by the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*. This is evident from the present mode of worship of Lord Jagannātha (Viṣṇu), which is partly Vedic and partly Tāntric. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* describes the mode of worship of Lord Jagannātha in a great detail which accounts for the Viṣṇuite form of worship in the Jagannātha-temple. The association of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* with any of the *Khaṇḍas* of *Sūta-Saṁhitā* is thus superficial. It might be a fact that the Purāṇakāra has related the two, because of their close association with the *Skanda-Purāṇa*. Including the *Sūta-Saṁhitā*, the *Skanda-Purāṇa* consists in itself the seven *Khaṇḍas* and in other way six *Saṁhitās*. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* has been composed after the model of the *Utkala-Khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda-Purāṇa*. Therefore, the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* has been superficially alluded to *Sūta-Saṁhitā* though the subject matter and the versions are quite different. More facts regarding the date of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* will be revealed from the following discussions on the chronology of the purāṇas.

Chronology of the Purāṇas

A lot of evidences regarding the date and time of the *Skanda-Purāṇa* are obtained by taking into account the chronology of the different purāṇas. Critics have differed widely in giving out the chronology of the purāṇas. The present purāṇa the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, a model of the *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra-Māhātmyam* demands its inclusion in *Sūta-Saṁhitā* of *Skanda-Purāṇa* and has relation with other purāṇas as clarified by the internal evidences laid down here in this purāṇa. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* is not only related to *Skanda-Purāṇa* but also to many other purāṇas in which the *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra-Māhātmyam* finds its inclusion. The purāṇas which describe the *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra-Māhātmyam*, are mainly *Vaiṣṇava-Khaṇḍa* of *Skanda-Purāṇa*, *Brahma-Purāṇa*, *Padma-Purāṇa* and *Nārada-Purāṇa*. Besides these, the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* has its relation with *Agni-Purāṇa*.

The *Vāyu*, *Mārkaṇḍeya* and *Matsya*-Purāṇas are generally considered by scholars to be the 'ancient' purāṇas. But it was soon evident that the work could not have been completed within the stipulated period. There is most common agreement amongst scholars about the opinion that the *Vāyu* is one of the very few of the ancient purāṇas, though they differ about their relative chronology. Long ago, R.G. Bhandarkar opined that the compilation of the *Vāyu-Purāṇa* is older than that of the *Matsya*,[20] and that is the earliest work of that class (i.e., the purāṇas).[21] But pargiter differs from him though he says that the *Vāyu* is older than the *Viṣṇu*.[22] He, however, believed that the redaction of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa* preceded the formation of the *Vāyu Brahmāṇḍa* nucleus. According to him, the nucleus of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa* came into being around 300 A.D. The *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa*, consequently, belonged to a later period, probably soon after 335 A.D. But, Winternitz says that this ancient

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work is not later than the 5th century A.D.[23] The *Vāyu* is perhaps the only purāṇa the existence of which is expressedly indicated in the *Mahābhārata* and its supplement the *Harivaṁśa*.[24] *Kādambarī*, a 7th century work also refers to the *Vāyu-Purāṇa*. The *Vāyu-Purāṇa* was undoubtedly composed much before the 7th century, probably even before the Gupta period, as it refers to the boundaries of pre-Gupta empire.[26] Prof. Baladeva Upadhyaya has suggested 350-550 A.D., as its date.[27] And in this he agrees well with Pargiter's chronology. The other evidence for the date of this purāṇa has been fully discussed by Dikshitar.[28] According to him, the earliest portion of the purāṇa goes to the 5th century B.C. and the latest to 500 A.D. On the ground of the evidence of the *Smṛti* material in the *Vāyu*, Hazra too thinks that it is "perhaps the oldest of the extant purāṇas", though the expression 'oldest' is according to him "applicable only to the main skeleton of the work."[29]

Interpolations in the purāṇic literature are multiplied gradually through all ages. *Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa* even includes some English words in Sanskritized form. Consequently this purāṇa produces the impression as if it was composed in the 18th or 19th century. But, it is not true. In fact, all the eighteen purāṇas, of course, without interpolations, came into existence well before the 11th century.[30] Alberuni, who wrote a highly methodical account of India in 1030 A.D., gives a list of all the 18 purāṇas composed by so-called Ṛṣis.[31]

However, the chronology of the purāṇas viewed by different scholars is varying widely. Bhandarkar and Smith ascribe the Gupta period to the final phase of the purāṇa literature.[32] In the opinion of R.C. Majumdar, the period from 300 A.D. to 700 A.D., witnessed the full development of the purāṇas.[33] Farquhar opines that the present form of the purāṇas was under development during the Gupta period.[34] The views of these scholars prompt us to conclude that the purāṇas which form the source materials of religion, history and sociology of India took a real shape during the Gupta period and continued to develop till about 10th century A.D.[35]

The exact date of composition of the *Sthaḷa-Purāṇa* the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* will be ascertained only after knowing the dates of such purāṇas which deal with *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra* and its *Māhātmya*. Amongst these texts the *Brahma-Purāṇa* is the most important. It has many similar descriptions which we find in our purāṇa.

Brahma-Purāṇa

In the introduction it is described in the *Brahma-Purāṇa* that the Ṛṣis in the Naimiṣa-forest are visited by Lomaharṣaṇa, Sūta, and they invite him to tell them of the origin and the end of the world. Similarly in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, the Ṛṣis of the Naimiṣa-forest[36] invite the Sūta to tell them all about the Srīkṣetra (*Puruṣottama-Kṣetra*)[37] and the Lord Puruṣottama of that *Kṣetra*. The major portion of the *Brahma-Purāṇa* is devoted to glorifications (*māhātmyas*) of sacred places (*tīrthas*).[38] Oḍradeśa or Utkala (the present day Orissa) with its sacred places and temples is described here in a very great detail. As Utkala owes its sanctity to Sun-worship, we find here also myths of the origin of the Ādityas (the gods of light) and of the Sun-god Sūrya. Reference to *Arka-Kṣetra*[39] is also present in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*. The Sun temple of Koṇārka, which is mentioned in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* was not built until 1241, at least

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the large section on the sacred places of Orissa can not be earlier than the 13th century.[40] Hence, the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* is a work after the Sun temple of Koṇārka.[41]

As *Tīrtha Cintāmaṇī* happens to allude to the *Brahma-Purāṇa,* Prof. Baladeva Upadhyaya opines that the time of this purāṇa is sometime before 15th century A.D., but finally he believes that the *Brahma-Purāṇa* was composed in Orissa in the 13th century A.D., i.e., before 15th century A.D., and it is the most ancient of the purāṇas.[42] Again contradicting himself, he suggests that the *Padma-Purāṇa* was composed in the 5th century A.D.[43] It may thus be concluded that *Brahma-Purāṇa* is not the earliest among the purāṇas and the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* is a work after 13th century and before 15th century. The period of composition of our purāṇa becomes more clear from the study of the date-map of *Padma-Purāṇa* which depicts mainly Viṣṇu-Cult.

Padma-Purāṇa

Any thing definite as to the date of the *Padma-Purāṇa* has not been conclusively established yet. Different parts of the *Padma-Purāṇa* belong to totally different periods, though the common characteristic is that they inculate the cult of Viṣṇu with an exception in the case of *Sṛṣṭi-Khaṇḍa*[44] where *Brahman* is in the foreground. A mention of King Bharata in the *Svarga-Khaṇḍa* of this purāṇa gives rise to the narration of the story of Śakuntalā, which is here not told as in the *Mahābhārata,* but more in agreement with the drama of Kālidāsa. Kālidāsa wrote *Abhijñāna-Śākuntalam* in the 1st century A.D.[45] A comparison of Kālidāsa's drama with the versions of the *Mahābhārata* and of the *Padma-Purāṇa* shows that in all probability Kālidāsa followed *Padma-Purāṇa.*[46] On the basis of this evidence, it can be said that the *Padma-Purāṇa* was composed even before the time of Kālidāsa, i.e., the first century, though some of its portions were written long after. The *Pātāla-Khaṇḍa* of this purāṇa is a much older work than the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* as will be borne out by the story of the said Khaṇḍa. But the reference to Svetagaṅgā in *Kriyāyogasāra-Khaṇḍa* and the mention of Svetagaṅgā as well as Svetamādhava[46A] in *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* suggest that *Kriyāyogasāra-Khaṇḍa* of the *Padma-Purāṇa* is a work earlier to *Nīlādri-Mahodayam.*

According to the views of M. Winternitz, Rādhā is identified with the great goddess Lakṣmī, and the celebration of her birthday (*Rādhājanmāṣṭamī*)[47] is described in the '*Uttara-Khaṇḍa*' of the *Padma-Purāṇa.* This indicates that the '*Uttara-Khaṇḍa*' has followed the Rādhā concept that originated little before the 12th century in Orissa and became popular by 16th century A.D. Prof. Baladeva Upadhyaya suggests that the *Uttara-Khaṇḍa* of the *Padma-Purāṇa* was written in the 16th century A.D. But, Dr. G.N. Mahapatra's view is that the *Uttara-Khaṇḍa* does not include Rādhā concept is open to doubt.[48] We find no reference to Rādhā concept in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam.* This leads us to the conclusion that the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* was compozed before the Rādhā concept is popularized in Orissa, i.e., before 16th century A.D.

We will now proceed to fix up the lower limit of the date of our purāṇa by considering the period of composition of the *Nārada-Purāṇa.* Like the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam,* the *Nārada-*

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Purāṇa depicts *Puruṣottama-Māhātmyam*,[49] and hence by a comparative study, the date of our purāṇa can be meticulously pointed out.

Nārada-Purāṇa

The portions of the *Saṁhitās* of the *Skanda-Purāṇa* are found in the *Nārada-Purāṇa*. Besides, this purāṇa as already stated, also contains *Puruṣottama-Māhātmyam*. The time of *Nārada-Purāṇa* is said to be the time of *Kirātārjuniyam*, a 7th century work by Bhāravi. This is because a single śloka of the *Nārada-Purāṇa* has a marked affinity with that of *Kirātārjuniyam*.[50] This evidence is not so sound and adequate to definitely suggest whether Bhāravi was influenced by *Nārada-Purāṇa* or *Nārada-Purāṇa* followed Bhāravi.

From the theme of the two ślokas, it can be stated that the *Puruṣottama-Māhātmyam* of *Skanda-Purāṇa* is a work composed after *Nārada-Purāṇa*. But the period of composition of the *Nārada-Purāṇa* falls within 700-900 A.D.[51] It may thus be concluded that the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, a model of the *Puruṣottama-Māhātmyam* of the *Skanda-Purāṇa* has been compiled after 9th century A.D.

A still later date for the composition of our purāṇa can be predicted by taking into consideration the facts laid down in the *Agni-Purāṇa* which describes in a great detail the tāntric rites and which mentions the incarnations (*Avatāras*) of Viṣṇu. In respect of these two facts, there is a close relationship between the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* and the *Agni-Purāṇa*.

Agni-Purāṇa

Agni-Purāṇa[52] describes the ten incarnations (*Avatāras*) of Viṣṇu, mentions tāntric rites and refers to the Sun-Cult. All about the Mantras, Mudrās, Dīkṣās and Maṇḍalas are included in this purāṇa. No less than fifteen chapters are devoted to the account of the ten incarnations of the god Hari or Viṣṇu, viz., Matsya,[53] Kūrma,[54] Varāha,[55] Narasiṁha,[56] Vāmana,[57] Paraśurāma,[58] Śrī Rāma,[59] Kṛṣṇa,[60] Buddha,[61] and Kalkī[62]. No less than eighty-five[63] chapters are devoted to describe the details about the worship of the various deities with a tinge of occult and mystic Tāntricism.[64] An account of the tāntric worship is given in all its details, e.g., preparation of the alter, the Mantra, Mudrā, Dīkṣā, the mystic Maṇḍalas, etc.[65] Likewise, our purāṇa the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* deals with anything and everything about the tāntric rites[66] performed during the worship of Lord Jagannātha and describes the Puruṣottama as one of the incarnations (*Avatāras*) of Viṣṇu.[67] Dr. P.V. Kane opines that the time of *Agni-Purāṇa* is older than the time of Daṇḍi, i.e., 7th century A.D.[68] Again, on the other hand the *Agni-Purāṇa* is the main source of Bhojarāja's *Sarasvatī-Kaṇṭhāvaraṇa*. Prof. V. Raghavan has opined that the Aḷaṅkāra section of the *Agni-Purāṇa* is later than Bhoja and that it is the purāṇa that borrows from Bhoja.[69] The image of the Goddess of learning at the Bhojaśālā Sarasvatī Temple at Bhoja's capital Dhārā was established by Bhoja in A.D. 1035 according to the inscription on the pedestal of the image.[70] This obviously suggests that the time of Bhoja is the 11th century A.D. Hence, the development of the purāṇa from its original to its extant form may be assigned to about 700 or 800 A.D. to 1000 or 1100 A.D.[71] In dating *Agni-Purāṇa*, we can not also overlook the viewpoints of some of the scholars like Dr. S.K. De and Dr. R.C. Hazra.

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S.K.De[72] and Haraprasad Sastri[73] assign the purāṇa to a period between 800 and 900 A.D. R.C. Hazra considered the date from the tāntric material of the purāṇa. From independent evidence, it may be stated that it was after the 7th or 8th century onwards that Śaivism and Tāntricism began to assert themselves against the dominance of Vaiṣṇavism[74] and in the words of R.C. Hazra, "from an examination of *Matsya, Varāha* and other purāṇas we understand that the tāntric elements began to be absorbed apprecially by the purāṇas not earlier than about 800 A.D."[75] Thus this phase of development of *Agni-Purāṇa* may roughly be assigned to the 9th century A.D., a century that witnessed the dominance of Tāntricism and Śaivism. Sometimes, *Agni-Purāṇa* has been assigned a date even before Daṇḍi.[76] But, as stated above the full development occurred to this purāṇa latest by 11th century A.D. It is very likely that the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* has been influenced by the tāntric rites of *Agni-Purāṇa* and hence prescribed the same for the worship of Viṣṇu (Lord Jagannātha). This leads us to the conclusion that the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* is a work composed after 11th century A.D. i.e., after the completion of the last portion of *Agni-Purāṇa.*

We can still go to a later date to explore the possibility for the composition of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam.* In this connection, we can take into account similar references found in the *Garuḍa-Purāṇa* as well as in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam.* The *Garuḍa-Purāṇa* was composed long after 11th century A.D. and undoubtedly after the completion of the Sun-temple at Koṇārka. This will be made clear from the following discussions.

Garuḍa-Purāṇa

Referring to the name '*Koṇagiri*' (Koṇārka) found in the *Garuḍa-Purāṇa,* it may be ascertained that this purāṇa might have been composed after the Sun-temple was built in Koṇārka during 13th century. Koṇārka gained significance only after 13th century. It is, therefore, likely that the *Garuḍa-Purāṇa* was written in the 13th century. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* also refers to *Arka-Kṣetra* (Koṇārka)[77] and hence it was composed sometime after the popularization of the Sun-temple at Koṇārka.

As the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* has followed the *Skanda-Purāṇa,* we will firmly establish here a time for it after scrutinizing properly the period of composition of the *Skanda-Purāṇa* as well as the *Garuḍa-Purāṇa.*

With regard to the *Skanda-Purāṇa,* Dr. R.C. Hazra, Dr. Awasthi and some others maintain that the work might have existed much before 13th century, while some of the Khaṇḍas of this purāṇa may be still older owing to the inclusion of Smṛti chapters in these Khaṇḍas.[78] Prof. Baladeva Upadhyaya suggests that the *Garuḍa-Purāṇa* in its present form came to light before the 9th or 10th century.[79] This may be considered as the time limit of all the eighteen purāṇas, although the interpolations continued to pour in from time to time.[80] A further investigation in this field is required to ascertain the time of formation of the nucleus of the *Skanda-Purāṇa.*

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Sidelights on the Origin of Skanda-Purāṇa

The composition period of the nucleus of the *Skanda-Purāṇa* is very ancient, though the different Khaṇḍas of it are composed in different times. It is highly probable that the composition of the *Skanda-Purāṇa* might have begun during the reign of Candragupta Maurya as is strongly evidenced by the reference to Nanda dynasty and its fall by Cāṇakya given in a śloka[81] of the *Skanda-Purāṇa.* Dr. Awasthi, after some diligent calculations, has fixed the date of Candragupta Maurya as 312 B.C.[82] This date, therefore, may mark the beginning of the *Skanda-Purāṇa.* But the same certainly can not be applied to *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* and *Puruṣottama-Māhātmyam.* Again, the *Utkala-Khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda-Purāṇa* otherwise called *Puruṣottama-Māhātmyam,*[83] as pointed out by H.V. Stietencron is composed in the early 14th century,[84] is not acceptable.

Dr. H.C. Roy Chaudhury opines that the *Kumārikā-Khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda-Purāṇa* is composed in the 8th or 9th century A.D.[85] But, according to Mr. C.V. Vaidya, the date of this purāṇa is in the 9th or 10th century A.D., as it presents the political conditions of 9th century India.[86] The *Kāsi-Khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda-Purāṇa* was written after 'Bāṇabhaṭṭa' as the name of 'Bāṇa' is mentioned in this Khaṇḍa[87] and the style of Parisaṁkhyā Aḷaṁkāra is followed. The time of Bāṇa is 7th century A.D. Thus, the date of composition of *Kāśi-Khaṇḍa* comes after 7th century A.D. But the *Puruṣottama-Māhātmyam* was incorporated into the *Vaiṣṇava-Khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda-Purāṇa* in the 8th century[88] as noticed from Dr. G.N. Mahapatra's work. The opinion of some of the scholars that the *Puruṣottama-Māhātmyam* was composed in the 13th century A.D., is not acceptable since the purāṇa does not include any reference to Cherāpahanrā introduced by Anaṁgabhīmadeva and Koṇārka temple built by Lāṁguḷā Narasiṁhadeva.

Next, we will compare the time of the two allied works, the *Puruṣottama-Māhātmyam* (*Utkala-Khaṇḍa*) of the *Skanda-Purāṇa* with the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam.* This will reveal correctly the date of composition of our purāṇa.

Utkala-Khaṇḍa of Skanda-Purāṇa and the Nīlādri-Mahodayam

Though the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* is compiled after the model of the *Puruṣottama-Māhātmyam*, the two works differ in mentioning some famous *Kṣetras* of Orissa. For example, the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* describes the *Gadā-Kṣetra (Virajā-Kṣetra)*[89] and the *Arka-Kṣetra* (Koṇārka)[90] while the *Puruṣottama-Māhātmyam* is silent about these two *Kṣetras.*[91] This practically reveals that the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* is a work after the *Utkala-Khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda-Purāṇa* and provides internal evidences for the exact date of our purāṇa. It is quite certain that the composition of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* happens to sometime after the *Virajā-Kṣetra* at Yājapura and the *Arka-Kṣetra* at Koṇārka gained first importance in the society; though the Virajā is much earlier to the Sun-temple at Koṇārka. It is thus required to ascertain the most probable time of Virajā and Koṇārka on the basis of the concrete literal and historical evidences as established by the eminent scholars of literature and history from time to time.

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Virajā-Kṣetra

Virajā-Kṣetra (modern Yājapura) had already become famous as the seat of Virajā (plate 1) by the time of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*. According to D.C. Sircar's view, Virajā, the oldest Brāhmaṇical tīrtha in Orissa enjoyed an important position during the age of the Bhauma-Kara Kings[92] who had their capital in that city (Yājapura) or its neighbourhood. Dr. H.K. Mahatab also suggests that Yajapur became popular as the *Virajā-Kṣetra* from the time of Śāntikara of Bhauma dynasty.[93] But, Dr. G.N. Mahapatra's point of view is that the *Virajā-Kṣetra* came to limelight when Yayāti Keśarī performed there the ten-horse sacrifices.[94] Thus, the above disputed opinions deserve careful attention to determine the date of Virajā as to when it was existing and when it became popular.

The stone images of *Virajā-Kṣetra* speak of the importance of the place as an old seat of Śāktism. The *Virajā-Māhātmyam*, which forms part of the *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa* repeats the story described in the *Gayāsura-Māhātmyam*, section of the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*. This story points to a revival of Brāhmaṇical Hinduism during the period of the Guptas, probably about 4th or 5th century A.D., as is evidenced by the image of Virajā.[95] Brāhmaṇism was revived at the time of the Guptas with the installation of the image of Virajā. The seat of Buddhism was converted into a seat of Śakti worship. The *Gayāsura-Māhātmyam*, referred to above, contains a veiled allusion to this transformation. The evidences of certain later sections of the *Mahābhārata* and the purāṇas like the *Mārkaṇḍeya* no doubt show that the Mother Goddess, conceived as the wife of Śiva, was occupying the front rank at the time of the Imperial Guptas.[96]

Judging from the iconographical features of Virajā, R.P. Chand suggested that the Virajā image might have belonged to a date earlier to the 6th century A.D.[97] The deity Virajā attained great fame and prominance in Orissa during the Bhauma-Karas who played a remarkable part in the history of Orissa during the 8th and 9th centuries A.D. The Bhauma-Karas ruled for nearly two centuries starting from 736 A.D., though there exists two different thoughts about their origin. B. Mishra,[98] H.K. Mahatab,[99] R.C. Majumdar[100] and N.K. Sahu[101] hold the opinion that the Bhauma-Karas belonged to Orissa itself; whereas R.D. Banerji,[102] R.P. Chand,[103] K.L. Barua,[104] K.C. Panigrahi[105] and P.C. Chaudhury[106] believed that they belonged to Assam and subsequently migrated to Orissa. Out of these two theories, the later one gathers more convincing grounds in its favour rather than the former. Being hailed from Assam, the Bhauma-Karas settled in Orissa during Śrī Harṣa's invasion and founded a small kingdom in 736 A.D., with its capital at Guhadeva Pāṭaka or Guheśvar Pāṭaka which is situated in the immediate neighbourhood of Virajā or Yājapura. Guhadeva Pāṭaka was most likely associated with Guha or the Guhas mentioned in the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, Vāyu-Purāṇa* and *Mahābhārata* as the rulers of Kaliṅga, Māhiṣya (Mednapore) and the Mahendra Mountain. The Guhas and the Bhaumas should not be taken as identical or contemporaries on the evidence of a single manuscript of the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, because the meaning conveyed by the expression "Mahendra Bhauma" is not quite clear. The editor of the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, Mr. H.H.Wilson himself states in the manner - "The only grammatical reading that I find and it occurs in only one MSS - is as follows : *Kaliṅga - Māhiṣaka - Mahendrān - Bhauma - Guha bhokṣanti*, which makes the rulers Guhas of Bhauma (?). This is however extremely doubtful."[107] The *Vāyu-Purāṇa* does

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not include the word 'Bhauma' and reveals that the king Guha was a contemporary of the Gupta emperor Chandragupta I (Cir. A.D. 319-335).[108] The *Virajā-Māhātmyam* also reveals the association of several Śaiva Shrines (Plate 2) at Virajā (Yājapura), the capital of the Bhauma-Karas, with some of the Bhauma-Kara rulers.[109] The *Bhakti Bhāgavata Mahākāvya* of Kavi Diṇḍima Jīvadevācārya refers to the Bhaumas under the name of Bhojas.[110] The Oriya *Mahābhārata* of Sāraḷā Dāsa[111] is also helpful in tracing the origin of the family. The Mādaḷā Pāñji, the temple chronicle of Jagannātha at Puri, mentions Abhinava Yayātinagara in connection with events stated to have taken place during the reign of Anaṅgabhīma III.[112] The writer probably added the adjective, Abhinava to Yayātinagara in the fashion of Abhinava Vārāṇasī the capital of Anaṅgabhīma III. The context in which this place - name has been used, leaves no doubt that by Abhinava Yayātinagara the chronicle means modern Jajpur situated on the bank of Vaitaraṇī in the district of Cuttack, which was the capital of the Bhauma-Karas[113] under the name of Virajā. It is mentioned as the capital of the Bhauma Sovereign Unmatta-Keśarī in the Baḍa Khimeḍi plates of his Gaṅga Vassal Jayavarmadeva.[114] In the Dhauli Cave inscriptions of Śāntikara, a Bhauma Sovereign, mention is made of Virajā.[115] Two Bhauma inscriptions still exist at Jajpur town, which state (1) Mādhavi Devī, wife of Śubhākara I, built a temple named Mādhaveśvara (Plate 3) at Jajpur, (2) Queen Vatsa Devī, got an image of the Goddess Cāmuṇḍā (Plate 4) carved there.[116]

The popularity of the Śākta Cult during the Bhauma period is also evidenced by the fact that the Bhauma-Kara ruler of Orissa, Tribhuvana Mahādevī, queen of the Śāntikara I, compares herself with Kātyāyanī at the time of her accession to the throne at Guheśvara-pāṭaka.[117] It may be said that this deity is no other than the goddess Virajā of that capital city.[118] The Buddhist *Hevajra Tantra* (7th or 8th century A.D.) mentions Oḍḍiyāna in place of Oḍra. The identification of Uḍḍiyāna with Orissa does not seem to be improbable. The Goddess referred to in this text is the Virajā of the capital city of the Bhaumas. The *Kubjika Tantra* supposed to be a fairly early work mentions Virajā as the Goddess of Uḍḍiyāna.[120] Both Kāmarūpa and Uḍḍiyāna were the primary pīṭhas of Vajrayāna and the main deities of the sect, Jagannātha and Kāmākṣya respectively of Orissa and Assam (Kāmarūpa), were established on the spots bearing the identical name Nīlācala.[121] During the total period of reign (8th century to 10th century) of the Bhauma-Karas, Śāktism gradually grew in popularity with the decline of traditional Buddhism. The rulers became modest in maintaining coherence among Buddhism, Śaivism and Śāktism. As established by Dr. K.C. Panigrahi, Śāntikara I and his queen Tribhuvana Mahādevī were ruling in 829 A.D. and 846 A.D., respectively. The last part of reign of the Bhuma-Karas was very miserable due to the succession of four queens one after another, which ultimately led to its extinction and prepared the way for the occupation of Orissa by the Somavaṁśī King Yayāti I in about 931 A.D.[122] The Bhauma Kingdom passed through a period of conflict and turmoil, which did not ensure the normal ending of a reign.

It may thus be concluded that the shrine of Virajā at modern Jajpur was established during the reign of Bhauma-Karas, i.e., from 8th century to 10th century A.D. In fact, Virajā was an important centre of all religions, Buddhism, Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism and Śāktism. Jajpur was the royal residence during the Bhauma-Karas.

The Bhauma-Kara period noticed the development of Sanskrit literature. The Gaṇḍavyūha

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that was presented by the Bhauma-Kara King to the Chinese emperor was written in Sanskrit. Murāri Miśra, the author of the *Anargha Rāghava* flourished in this age. Several works on Tantra were also composed in Sanskrit in this period. The inscriptions of the Bhauma-Karas reveal the influence of Bāṇa's *Harṣacharita Kādambarī*. But the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, a Sanskrit work, as we find, was not composed during 8th to 10th century A.D., though it includes the *Virajā-Kṣetra* where the Bhauma-Karas established the shrine of Virajā. This is evidenced by the fact that the history of the Bhauma-Kings is silent about the Lord Jagannātha at Puri except a tradition record in the *Mādaḷā-pāñji*, which fits in with the reign of Bhauma-Karas,[123] and deserves its mention here. It appears that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion of Orissa has been described in the *Mādaḷā Pāñji*. This invasion would have been taken place in the reign of Śubhākara I, whose period of reign falls in the same time of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Govinda III (793-814 A.D.) who conquered Kośala, Kaliṅga, Vaṅga, Dāhal and Oḍraka. According to the tradition referred above, the king Śubhanadeva burried the images of Jagannātha at a place known as Gopāli in Sonepur to save the images from destruction during Raktabāhu's invasion of Orissa, which happened before 805 A.D.[124] After a lapse of 144 years Yayāti Keśarī of the Somavaṁśī dynasty got the images dug out, made new images, built a new temple at Puri and enshrined them there. K.C. Panigrahi identified Śobhanadeva of *Mādaḷā Pāñji* with the Bhauma-Kara King Śubhākaradeva I. Pandit S.N. Das suggests that Śobhanadeva ruled during the 6th century[125] is not acceptable. Yayāti I of the Somavaṁśī dynasty ruled from 922 to 955 A.D.[126] Therefore, the interval of 144 years fits in with the reigns of Govinda III and Śubhākara I on one hand and Yayāti I on the other. It is now evident that the re-establishment of the shrine of Jagannātha at Puri with a temple built there by the Somavaṁśī King Yayāti Keśarī (?) happened after the fall of Bhauma-Kara dynasty. Thus, the composition of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* is quite impossible during the Bhauma-Kara period (8th to 10th century A.D.) as the Lord Jagannātha was concealed under the earth to be saved from destruction by the invaders as recorded in tradition. The composition might have been occurred after the Bhauma period when the Bhauma-Kara rulers were supplanted by the Somavaṁśīs. Kośala and Toṣala were united under one sceptre during the rule of the Somavaṁśī King Yayāti I. But who is that Yayātikeśarī, Yayāti I or Yayāti II (?), who re-established the shrine of Jagannātha at Puri with a temple built there and performed ten Aśvamedha sacrifices at Yājapura to revive the lost glory of Virajā ? These questions regarding Yayāti remains as a disputed point amongst many scholars. As the two rulers are separated from each other by about 100 years with at least three important rulers (Bhīmaratha, Dharmaratha, Naghuṣa/Indraratha) intervening between them, the question is of considerable importance.

Dr. H.K. Mahatab[127] and K.N. Mahapatra[128] hold the opinion that he is Yayāti II who has performed ten horse sacrifices at Yājapura. Dr. K.C. Mishra[129] says, that the Somavaṁśī King Mahāśivagupta is the Yayāti II. Dr. K.C. Panigrahi,[130] H.V. Stietencron[131] and others establish that he is Yayāti I, whereas Dr. D.C. Sircar[132] suggests that he is the Yayāti III. According to A. Das and Pandit Sadasiva Ratha Sharma Yayāti I was the son of Janmejoy Mahābhāvagupta.[133] This Yayāti Keśarī is reputed in the *Mādaḷā Pāñji* as second Indradyumna. Although the Yayāti-problem is historically still rather insolved, how could Dr. G.N. Mahapatra[134] avoid it just by saying that Yayāti is not a name but a title ? However, the

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Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion of Orissa which has survived in the traditions of the *Mādaḷā Pāñji* as Raktabāhu invasion, the re-establishment of the shrine of Jagannātha at Puri with a temple built there after 144 years interval from the removal of the image from Puri and the total reigning period of the Somavaṁśīs which is about 160 years preserve historical grounds in favour of Yayāti I. There is no reason now to doubt about the Bhauma-King Yayāti I, who transferred the Somavaṁśī capital to Virajā which was renamed as Yayātinagara after him. Therefore, Yājapura was also known as Yayātitīrtha.[135] Its glory and sanctity as a holy tīrtha was enhanced by Yayāti Keśarī of Keśarī dynasty, who built the Daśāśvamedhaghāṭa on the bank of the river Vaitaraṇī after performing the ten horse-sacrifices at Yājapura, to which ten thousand Brahmins are said to have been invited by him from Kanauja. Evidently, the *Virajā-Kṣetra* was raised to the peak point of its glory during the Keśarī period i.e., 10th to early part of 12th century A.D. Thus, the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, which endogises the sanctity of *Virajā-Kṣetra*, was composed after 12th century A.D. The *Kṣetra* was very much popular in the time and hence the Purāṇakāra of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* included it in the text.

The above mentioned date for our purāṇa is further confirmed by the reference of *Arka-Kṣetra* made in it. This sacred place came into existence during the Gaṅga period. We will discuss here also the manner in which the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* describes the glory of this famous *Kṣetra*.

Arka-Kṣetra

The sacredness of the *Arka-Kṣetra*[136] has been depicted in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* with reference to the river Candrabhāgā.[137] It is also mentioned to see the god 'Sūrya' after taking bath in the sacred river Candrabhāgā.[138] Evidently the date of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* would be too obvious after ascertaining the date of the Koṇārka (Plate 5), which is famous for the Sun-temple and its architecture. This temple of the Sun-god at Koṇārka was built during the time of the Gaṅgas when the Orissan architecture reached its zenith. Narasiṁhadeva I ruled the Gaṅga Empire from 1238 to 1264 A.D.,[139] and had built the Sun-temple at Koṇārka. The temple was constructed on the confluence of the river Candrabhāgā and the sea. At present the sea is about a mile and a half to the South-east of the temple, while the Candrabhāgā is flowing at a distance about half mile to the north. Almost all the land-grants of the Gaṅgas unanimously state that it was under the orders of King Narasiṁhadeva I of the Imperial Gaṅga dynasty that the Sun-temple was erected. Dr. H.K. Mahatab[140] suggests that the King Narasiṁhadeva I built the Sun-temple at Koṇārka within the period 1245 to 1256 A.D. This period also comes under the range 1238-1264 A.D. mentioned above as the period of reign of the same king. According to the Jagannātha temple chronicle (*Mādaḷā Pāñji*), it is believed that all the temples of Koṇārka were built by Lāṅguḷā Narasiṁhadeva in 1278 A.D.[141] Again, Dr. K.C. Panigrahi holds that Lāṅguḷā Narasiṁhadeva (Narasiṁhadeva I)[142] was the builder of the Sun-temple at Koṇārka. It is thus doubtless to state that the temple of the Sun-god at Koṇārka was built in the thirteenth century A.D. Therefore, the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* which refers to *Arka-Kṣetra* and the Sun-god, was composed after 13th century A.D. This idea is further confirmed by other references, like Ekāmravana and Ananta Vāsudeva worship, made

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in the purāṇa. We will now proceed to analyse these two solid grounds for the date of composition of our purāṇa.

Ekāmravana and Ananta Vāsudeva Worship

Many Sanskrit works like *Kapila Saṁhitā, Ekāmra-Purāṇa, Svarnādri-Mahodayam* and *Ekāmra-Candrikā* sing the glory and sanctity of *Ekāmra-Kṣetra* (Bhubaneswar) with references to its deities, though their compositions occur to different periods.

The text of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* speaks the glory and sanctity of Ekāmravana (Bhubaneswar),[143] Vindu Hrada (Vindu Sāgara tank)[144] and Ananta-Puruṣottama (Ananta Vāsudeva)[145] as narrated by Nārada in it. Now, in this context, it is said that Indradyumna passed through the sacred Ekāmravana (*Ekāmra-Kṣetra*) while on way to Puri. He took his bath in the holy water of Vindu Hrada (Vindu Sāgara tank) and had darśanas of Ananta-Puruṣottama in the immediate neighbourhood of the Vindu Hrada. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* also adds that Indradyumna visited the Koṭiliṅgeśvara Śambhu[146] who was worshipped in the Ekāmravana. On the basis of this evidence, it may be suggested that the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* is composed after the Ananta Vāsudeva (Ananta-Puruṣottama) worship prevailed in Orissa.

The Ananta-Puruṣottama in the immediate neighbourhood of the Vindu Hrada (Plate 7), mentioned in this purāṇa can definitely be identified with Ananta Vāsudeva (Plate 8) who is the only Vaiṣṇava deity at Bhubaneswar. The supremacy of Vaiṣṇavism over Śaivism attained its peak during the later part of the Gaṅga period. This is fully evidenced by the existence of the Ananta-Puruṣottama (Ananta Vāsudeva) in the midst of the *Ekāmra-Kṣetra*, the greatest centre of Śaivism in Orissa. The images of Ananta Vāsudeva are still worshipped on the bank of Vindu Hrada. The group of images, we notice here today, are Balarāma, Kṛṣṇa and Subhadrā. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* also includes the worship of Balarāma, Kṛṣṇa and Subhadrā together.[147]

By the wake of Vaiṣṇavism in Orissa, a temple[148] was built near Vindu Hrada to spread the cult. This temple, like most other temples of Orissa, comprises 'Vimāna', 'Jagamohana', 'Nāṭamandira' and 'Bhoga Maṇḍapa'. Vaiṣṇavism gained its popularization in Orissa through this temple of Ananta-Puruṣottama near Vindu Sarovara at Bhubaneswar.

Some scholars may argue that the Mālava King Indradyumna might have had darśanas of Ananta and Vāsudeva images which are found fixed on the inner wall of the Vindu Sāgara tank at Bhubaneswar. Dr. K.C. Mishra[149] and Dr. G.N. Mahapatra[150] opine that these images are of the earlier period than the images of Ananta Vāsudeva temple. But the analysis of the fact contained in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* wipes out the confusion regarding the Ananta-Puruṣottama to which Indradyumna saw. The fact narrated in our purāṇa explains that Indradyumna visited the Ananta-Puruṣottama which was being worshipped there by Dvijas (Brāhmaṇas).[151] The Brāhmaṇical version of rites mentioned in the text is that Indradyumna offered gifts (dānas) to please the god Viṣṇu and to spread the Dharma.[152] This shows that Vaiṣṇavism was fully rooted in *Ekāmra-Kṣetra* after the construction of the temple of Ananta-Puruṣottama near the bank of Vindu Hrada. It is thus doubtless to believe that the

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King Indradyumna visited the god Ananta-Puruṣottama but not the images of Ananta and Vāsudeva fixed on the inner walls of the Vindu Sāgara tank. By the time of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, the Ananta-Puruṣottama temple had already gained popularity in Utkala. Now, the question arises - when and by whom this temple was erected on the bank of Vindu Sarovara in order to include the deities of Ananta-Puruṣottama? The inscription of the Ananta Vāsudeva temple at Bhubaneswar becomes an immediate answer to this question.

From the inscription[153] originally attached to the Ananta Vāsudeva temple, it is definitely known that the temple of Ananta Vāsudeva was built by Candrikādevī, the daughter of Anaṅgabhīmadeva III and sister of Narasiṁhadeva I in the year 1278 A.D. This inscription[154] further reveals that the temple was built by Candrikādevī in commemoration of her husband, Paramarddideva, who died a heroic death at the fort of Lakṣmaṇāvatī [155] while fighting against the Muslims of Gauḍa from the side of Narasiṁhadeva I.

After the erection of a temple there, the Ananta-Puruṣottama became the guardian of the sacred Ekāmravana and his representative image (Vijaya Pratimā) was worshipped alongwith that of Liṅgarāja in all important festivals like Ratha Yātra, Candana Yātra, Dola Yātra, etc.

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, which includes the worship of Ananta-Puruṣottama in the Ekāmravana, was certainly composed after 1278 A.D., i.e., after the construction of the Ananta-Puruṣottama temple near the Vindusāgara tank at Bhubaneswar. This temple, at present, is called the Ananta Vāsudeva temple. The term Vāsudeva is a very old one meaning Kṛṣṇa or Lord Jagannātha. The *Skanda-Purāṇa* describes Lord Jagannātha as Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva.[156] The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* describes Lord Jagannātha as Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa, Vāsudeva and Puruṣottama.[157] We also find similar descriptions in the *Jagannātha Caritāmṛta*.[158] The assimilation of Vaiṣṇavism with the cult of Jagannātha might have taken a lot of time. In the Upaniṣadic Age, Kṛṣṇa was depicted as a reformer of the Vedic way of life. Interestingly, Kṛṣṇa at the same time, was also described as the son of Vasudeva and Devakī. He accordingly became Vāsudeva.[159]

The Vāsudeva worship made its way in Orissa in the 2nd century B.C.[160] It is older than Puruṣottama concept of Lord Jagannātha. In the 5th century A.D., the worship of Śaṁkarṣaṇa Vāsudeva (for Balarāma and Jagannātha) took the shape of Ananta Vāsudeva worship. Later Vāsudeva was replaced by Puruṣottama. By the time of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* the worship of Ananta Vāsudeva took the form of Ananta-Puruṣottama worship.

The first definite[162] reference to the deity Puruṣottama on the sea shore and his 'Yātrā' (possibly the car-festival) is found in the *Anargharāghava* of the dramatist Murāri who is usually placed around 900 A.D., by most of the scholars. The poet refers to Puruṣottama of dark blue bodily colour resembling blue sapphire, residing on the shore of the salt-ocean and sporting with Kamalā. Many years after Murāri, i.e., in the year 1278 A.D., a temple was erected near Vindu Sarovara to include Ananta Vāsudeva (Puruṣottama) and by the time of *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, Puruṣottama-worship was very much popular. So, this purāṇa describes Ananta-Puruṣottama near Vindu Hrada instead of Ananta Vāsudeva, though both mean the same deities Balarāma and Jagannātha.

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The internal evidences from our purāṇa do not reveal the existence of the Kapileśvara temple in the *Ekāmra-Kṣetra*. The King Indradyumna visited Koṭiliṅgeśvara Śambhu and Ananta-Puruṣottama, but did not have a darśana of Kapileśvara temple. This fact draws our careful attention to trace the date of this purāṇa.

No Reference to Kapileśvara Temple

The temple of Kapileśvara situated within a spacious compound on the southern border of the sacred *Ekāmra-Kṣetra* is also a great monument of this place. This temple was built by the most powerful Gajapati Kapileśvaradeva after his coronation at Bhubaneswar in 1435 A.D. According to *Mādaḷā Pāñji*, the coronation was celebrated at Kṛttivāsa Kaṭaka on the 2nd day of Kakaḍā, Śukḷa Cauṭhī, Budhavāra, which astronomically corresponds exactly to 29th June, 1435 A.D.[164] from which date an era called 'Kapilābda' is still calculated in Orissa.

Epigraphical evidence also proves the association of Kapileśvaradeva with the *Ekāmra-Kṣetra*. The Kapāli Maṭha epigraph[165] mentions the name of one Raṇa Śūra Mahāsenāpati, the commander-in-chief of Śrī Kapileśvaradeva. Another very important inscription which was engraved on a chlorite slab fixed near the eastern entrance of the Jagamohana of the Liṅgarāja temple,[166] reveals the most probable date of the Kapileśvara temple. According to this inscription,[167] the date is 4th Aṅka, Mithuna Saṁkrānti, Kṛṣṇa, Maṅgaḷavāra which corresponds to 28th May, 1427 A.D., the day of Rājā Saṁkrānti, Jyeṣṭha, Kṛṣṇa Navamī, Maṅgaḷavāra.[168] So the construction of the Kapileśvara temple may be fixed sometime around this date.

Thus, it is obvious that the Kapileśvara temple is a monument of 15th century A.D. and hence after Ananta Vāsudeva temple (13th century A.D.). As the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* does not mention anything about the Kapileśvara temple, it may safely be concluded that the work was composed before the construction of Kapileśvara temple (15th century A.D.) at Bhubaneswar. Again, on the basis of the dates of the Ananta Vāsudeva temple and Kapileśvara temple, the date of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* comes after 13th century and before the first half of the 15th century A.D.

Next, we will discuss the Cherāpahanrā evidence found in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*. This is a very important fact which takes the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* to a date later than the date of introduction of the process of Cherāpahanrā in the car festival of Lord Jagannātha.

Cherāpahanrā

The origin of the royal 'deputy-ideology' during Gaṅgas is the important event in the history of kingship ideology which was directly linked with the Lord Jagannātha. This means that the god Puruṣottama at Puri was the real ruler and the king was a mere deputy in the administration. In fact, the god Puruṣottama at Puri became the official state deity of the Gaṅga Empire from the time of Anaṅgabhīma III (1211-1238 A.D.).

Anaṅgabhīma III was a staunch devotee of the god Puruṣottama. One of the four inscriptions of Anaṅgabhīma III in the Pātāleśvara shrine within the inner compound of the

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Puri temple clearly mentions the Gaṅga King as a vassal of the god of Puri.[169] The Liṅgarāja temple inscriptions describe him as the son of the god Puruṣottama-Jagannātha[170] and his dominions as Puruṣottama Sāmrājya,[171] i.e., the empire belonging to the god Puruṣottama-Jagannātha. In the Kāñcīpuram and Kapilās inscriptions, it is said that the kings Anaṅgabhīma III and his son Narasiṁha I (1238-1264 A.D.) were obeying the orders of the god Puruṣottama.[172] Anaṅgabhīma III was regarded even by his Śaiva subjects as a Bhagavat (god of Lord). From many inscriptions, it is undoubtedly pointed out that Anaṅgabhīma III was a saintly Vaiṣṇava.[173] Being a parama Vaiṣṇava and parama Māheśvara, he was entitled Durgāputra, Rudraputra and Puruṣottamaputra.[174] He was an accomplished ruler as well as a great administrator. In order to protect his empire from the Muslim invaders of Bengal, he had systematically re-organized his empire and had consecrated a temple for Puruṣottama-Jagannātha in his newly founded capital at Cuttack to which he named as Abhinava-Vārāṇasī-Kaṭaka or Vārāṇasī-Kaṭaka.[175] *Mādaḷā Pāñji*, the celebrated chronicle of Jagannātha temple, however, attributes the construction of the temple of Puruṣottama-Jagannātha to Anaṅgabhīma who may have completed the Puri temple begun by his great grand-father Coḍagaṅgadeva. It is also usually believed by scholars that the Puri temple and the buildings connected with the shrine may have been actually finished during his reign.[176] According to another tradition recorded in the *Mādaḷā Pāñji*,[177] the King Anaṅgabhīma dedicated all his kingdom to the god Puruṣottama-Jagannātha of Puri and began to rule as a Rāuta (i.e., feudatory) of the said god. As established by scholars and supported by inscriptions, he is no other than the Gaṅga King Anaṅgabhīma III.[178] He considered the deity Puruṣottama as the de jure lord of his dominions and himself as a mere deputy of the god. This action of dedicating the empire to Lord Jagannātha had certainly a strong impact on the entire Hindu world and particularly on his subjects to be united under the great throne of the Lord Puruṣottama-Jagannātha. Thus, Jagannātha became the real Ruler, and the king ruled as his representative[179] only, under his advice (ādeśa)[180] and authority (sāmrājya).[181]

After surrendering the kingdom to Puruṣottama-Jagannātha, Anaṅgabhīma professed to be the servant of the Lord and on the occasion of the car festival he performed the task of sweeping the platform of the deity's Chariot which is called as Cherāpahanrā.[182] A detail and lucid description of the process of Cherāpahanrā[183] is mentioned in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* in connection with the Ratha Yātrā (car festival) of the deities, Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā. This evidence leads us to conclude that the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* was composed after the time of Anaṅgabhīma III (1211-1238 A.D.).

Reference to Carcikā

Sapta Mātṛkās (seven mothers), worshipped in different parts of Orissa, represent the Śaktis of important deities. Although the number of the Divine Mothers is often given as eight and sometimes also as nine and sixteen, originally the Mother-goddess was worshipped in her individual aspects as well as collectively in a circle of seven. They are Brāhmī or Brahmāṇī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī, Indrāṇī (Aindrī or Māhendrī) and Cāmuṇḍā.[184] A comprehensive list of all the 108 names of the Mother-goddess found in different parts of India is given by Dr. D.C. Sircar in his book 'The *Śākta Pīṭhas*'.[185] But in the popular list of eight

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goddesses, Yāmī, Caṇḍikā, Carcikā, Narasiṁhī, etc., are variously introduced.[186] Again, in the Bṛhatsaṁhitā,[187] Utpala speaks of Vāruṇi and Kauberī in the list of the Mothers.

At present, Cāmuṇḍā in her terrific form is worshipped as Mohinī at Bhubaneswar, as Kichakeśvarī at Khiching temple, as Jāgulāi at Chaurasi, as Carcikā (Plate 9) at Banki and as Caṇḍaghaṇṭa at Niali and as side deities in different other places. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* also makes reference to Carcikā[188] and identifies the goddess with the Śakti of Viṣṇu. This description shows that by the time of *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* Vaiṣṇavism had already been flourished in Orissa dominating Śāktism. Really, the Sapta Mātṛkās had gained their popularity in Orissa from 7th century A.D. though their origin is shout to be still ancient. The Vaiṣṇavism was firmly rooted in Orissa during the later Gaṅgas, practically after the construction of the great temple of the god Puruṣottama-Jagannātha at Puri by Coḍagaṅgadeva in the 12th century A.D. K.N. Mahapatra suggested that the temple was built by Anantavarman Coḍagaṅgadeva in about 1112 A.D.[189]

Thus, the identification of Carcikā as the Śakti of Viṣṇu in our purāṇa places it sometime after 12th century A.D.

Lord Jagannātha in Avatāravāda

Avatāravāda, the theory of ten incarnations of Viṣṇu reveals some notable evidences to ascertain the date of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*. This purāṇa speaks of all the ten incarnations (Avatāras)[190] of Viṣṇu including Lord Jagannātha (*Dārubrahma*) as the Avatārī of Buddha.[191] These ten incarnations of Viṣṇu as described in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* are Matsya, Kacchapa, Varāha, Vāmana, Nṛsiṁha, Paraśurāma, Śrī Rāma, Balarāma, Buddha and Kalkī. We also observe all such forms of Viṣṇu on the walls of the Nāṭa Maṇḍapa of Jagannātha temple, where Buddhāvatāra of Lord Jagannātha is important to notice. This indicates that the god Viṣṇu at present, is in his Buddhāvatāra (Lord Jagannātha). The Kalkī Avatāra has yet to come. It will usher in the end of our present age.

The origin of the Avatāra conception may be traced in the *Ṛgveda* which refers to Viṣṇu's three strides. In many passages of the *Ṛgveda*, Viṣṇu is mentioned along with the Adityas while later works represent him as one of them. Three strides of Viṣṇu which no doubt formed the background of the purāṇic legend of Vāmana is quite famous in the *Ṛgveda*. In the early Vedic conception, Indra is considered as the most popular god of action among the *Ṛgvedic* deities though there is a close relation between Indra and Viṣṇu. The Vedic deities are Varuṇa, Prithivi and Dyaus-Indra, the Maruts-Vāyu-Tvashtri, the Ribhus-Agni, Soma, Candra-Aditi and the Adityas-Vivasvat-Savitri, Sūrya-Ushas, Ratri-the Aswins-Rudra and Viṣṇu.[192] It is said that Viṣṇu has walked the three steps with Indra's energy.[193] This proves the supremacy of Indra in the Vedic period and shows that Viṣṇu was a deity of minor rank[194] in the Vedas though his character and status changed radically in later times. The *Vedas* call Viṣṇu as 'Urukrama' (an epithet of Viṣṇu in the dwarf incarnation)[195] and thus the Vāmana Avatāra (dwarf incarnation) may be considered as the most ancient one.

The Avatāra theory must have undergone several stages of evolution basing on old tales about strange animals exhibiting mysterious powers of helpfulness. Some of them, however,

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had originally little to do with Viṣṇu. The traditions as to the number of Avatāras varied and is very often adhered to different names. Gradually, Buddhism may have influenced the development of the theory of incarnations.

The *Mahābhārata* presents only a stage of development of the Avatāravāda. The Avatāras accepted by the age of the *Mahābhārata* were Haṁsa, Kūrma, Matsya, Varāha, Narasiṁha, Vāmana, Rāma, Dāśarathi Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and Kalkī.[196] It thus seems that the *Mahābhārata* does not include Buddhāvatāra, though Bhagavad Gītā[197] and some other sections of the *Mahābhārata* represent Viṣṇu as an ideal divinity and almighty saviour of mankind. The Gītā says that the god incarnates himself from time to time for the protection of good, for the destruction of evil-doers and for the sake of firmly establishing righteousness. In this manner, the Bhagavad Gītā, though, hints at the Avatāravāda, but it does not mention Buddhāvatāra.

The principle of incarnation is recognized by Rāmāyaṇa which depicts besides Rāma, Varāha, Nṛsiṁha (or Narasiṁha), Vāmana, Paraśurāma and Kṛṣṇa as forms of Viṣṇu.[198] Most of the Khaṇḍas of the Rāmāyaṇa refer to Vāmana as the incarnation of Viṣṇu though the Rāmāyaṇa as a whole does neither mention the precise number of Viṣṇu's incarnations[199] nor the Buddhāvatāra.

The *Matsya-Purāṇa,* the *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa*, the *Agni-Purāṇa,* the *Garuḍa-Purāṇa* and the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* refer to Buddhāvatāra.[200] But, in the *Vāyu-Purāṇa* the name of Kṛṣṇa replaces that of the Buddha.[201] The Varāha-*Purāṇa,* which was composed in the 10th century, does refer to the Buddhāvatāra along with Kṛṣṇa.[202] In the 9th century, Śaṅkarācārya and in the 12th century, Śrī Harṣa also identified Buddhadeva as the incarnation of Viṣṇu.[203] The Buddha is mentioned as one of the ten Avatāras in the *Daśāvatāra Carita* of Kṣemendra (11th century A.D.) of Kashmir.[204] Then, Jayadeva, in the 12th century, mentioned Buddha as one of the ten Avatāras in his *Gītagovinda* and alluded to Jagannātha as the Buddhāvatāra[205] since Jagannātha was fundamentally conceived as Viṣṇu. In the 8th century, Indrabhūti also accepted the epithet of Buddha as Jagannātha in his *Jñānasiddhi.*[206] But the ten Avatāras of Viṣṇu are prominently extolled in Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* whereas Indrabhūti's *Jñānasiddhi* does not refer to these incarnations. From the time of Jayadeva, Jagannātha came to be regarded as the Avatārī of Buddha since he first compared Jagadiśa or Jagannātha with Hari. Jayadeva eulogizes Kṛṣṇa as Viṣṇu himself. He did not place Kṛṣṇa in the list of ten Avatāras. In course of time, Jagannātha, Viṣṇu and Buddha became synonymous and Jagannātha became ultimately the highest deity of the Hindus. Thus, after 12th century A.D., Jagannātha was accepted universally as the incarnation of Buddha and that is why Sāraḷā Dāsa, Śiśukṛṣṇa Dāsa etc., have described him in the same form.

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* may now be examined in the context of Avatāravāda. As already stated, the text of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* describes all the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu and refers to Lord Jagannātha as Buddhāvatāra. Evidently the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* was composed after 12th century A.D.

Rādhā Concept

In the 12th century A.D., Jayadeva first introduced the Rādhā Cult (Rādhā as the consort

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of Kṛṣṇa) in Orissan soil. The cult of Love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa is beautifully described in his *Gītagovindam*. He identified Kṛṣṇa with Lord Viṣṇu. The Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa Cult introduced by Jayadeva took a long period to gain popularity in Orissa. *Mādaḷā Pāñji*[208] holds that the *Gītagovindam* was first recited in the temple of Jagannātha by the permission of Kavi Narasiṁhadeva who, according to Gaṅga inscriptions, is the King Narasiṁha II (1278-1309 A.D.).[209] This fact, however, does not reveal that the recitation of the *Gītagovindam* in the Jagannātha temple was continued thereafter. By the 14th century A.D., the worship of Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa had totally replaced Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva and the cult of Love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa had firmly rooted in other parts of India. But the worship of Rādhā as the consort of Kṛṣṇa seems to have been completely unknown to Orissa till the middle of the 15th century A.D. The current of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa Love flowed into Orissa when Kapilendradeva (15th century A.D.) introduced the *Gītagovindam* to be recited in the great temple of Lord Jagannātha.[210]

Now, the analysis of the text of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* shows that the purāṇa conceives Jagannātha as Kṛṣṇa,[211] but also not mention anything about Rādhā. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* also sees no difference among Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa and Jagannātha which is evident from the references[212] to Kṛṣṇa widely depicted in it. Again, Jagannātha is worshipped by Gopāla Mantra[213] as mentioned here. These evidences suggest that the Kṛṣṇa Cult, being much older one, finds inclusion in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* whereas the Rādhā Cult (Rādhā as the consort of Kṛṣṇa) is not included in it. This is because of the fact that Rādhā Cult was not popularized by the time of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*. The Rādhā Cult received new impetus only after Śrī Caitanya's arrival to Puri in 1509 A.D. Thus, it may be concluded that the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* was composed after 12th century A.D., but before 1509 A.D.

Absence of Lalitā-Character Mentioned in Sāraḷā Mahābhārata

The *Mahābhārata* of Sāraḷā Dāsa was composed in the 15th century A.D., during the reign of King Kapilendradeva. The story of Jagannātha is found in the *Vana Parva* and *Muṣalī Parva* of Sāraḷā Dāsa's *Mahābhārata*. The whole *Muṣalī Parva* appears to ascribe the origin of the worship of Jagannātha to that of Mādhava or Nīlamādhava, also named Śabarīnārāyaṇa. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* also similarly refers to the origin of Jagannātha and says that the Lord was originally worshipped as Mādhava[214] or Nīlamādhava. Sāraḷā Dāsa in the *Vana Parva* and in the *Virāṭa Parva* of his *Mahābhārata* describes Subhadrā to be identical with the masculine deity Brahmā, the Creator. The *Sabhā Parva* and the *Muṣalī Parva* of Sāraḷā Dāsa's *Mahābhārata* depict Jagannātha as the Buddha.[215] The same expression is found in various places of the *Ādi, Vana, Muṣalī* and the *Śalya Parvas* of his famous work. Besides, Sāraḷā Dāsa's Mahābhārata includes Lalitā as the daughter of the Śabara Viśvāvasu and her marriage with Brāhmin Vidyāpati. But, the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* refers to Viśvāvasu[216] and Vidyāpati,[217] but does not speak anything about Lalitā. This fact again proves that the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* is of an earlier origin than *Sāraḷā Mahābhārata*, i.e., the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* is a work composed before 15th century A.D.

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Yavana-Reference

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* mentions the rites of purification to be observed both for the citation of any story relating to Yavan[218] (Muslim) during the worship of Lord Jagannātha and for the entry of any Yavan[219] into the temple. The presence of these references to Yavana reveals meticulously the time of composition of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam.*

Unfolding the history of Muslim invasions to Orissa, we find that the Banga-Sultan's attacked Orissa several times during the later Gaṅgas. The Muslims of Bengal invaded Orissa for the first time in 1205 A.D., during the reign of Rāja Rājā III (1198-1211 A.D.) of the Gaṅga dynasty.[220] But, Dr. H.K. Mahatab doubts in the truth of this Muslim invasion. He argues that the book *Tabakat-i-Nasiri* does not clearly mention the attack by Bakhtyar Khiliji to Orissa in 1205-1206 A.D.[221] According to the *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, "Bakhtyar had despatched Mohammad-i-Sheran and his brother with a portion of his forces towards Lakhnor and Jajnagar."[222] After a comparative study of the opinions of the historians, Pandit Paramananda Acharya has concluded that Jajnagar, at that time, included all the portions of Orissa, Medinipur of Bengal, Howrah and Hooghly districts, Bankuda, Simhabhuma, Bilarasapur, Godavari and Vaizagapattam.[223] Evidently Jajnagar does not clearly refer to Orissa during the time of Rāja Rājā III and hence it is doubtful whether the Sheran-brothers attacked Orissa in 1205 A.D. However, day-by-day Muslim power was growing in different parts of India. The Muhammedan rulers of Delhi and Bengal were always trying to capture Orissa with a view to destroy the Hindu temples. But, the Gaṅga emperors were facing the battle bravely and were overthrowing them from time to time.

In the early 14th century, Bhānudeva II (1308-1328 A.D.) was the ruler of Orissa as well as the administrator of Jagannātha temple.[224] His period did not pass smooth. He had to fight a battle with the Muhammedans when Ghiyasuddin sent his son Ulugh Khan to attack Telingana in 1321 A.D.[225] Due to the Muslim invasions, considerable development could not have been done in the temple of Lord Jagannātha during this period. Ulugh Khan (Juna Khan) perhaps returned back after being defeated by the powerful army of Orissa while he was trying to enter into the southern boundary of this kingdom. This is evident from the fact that Jajnagar is not included in the list of the states ruled by Juna Khan and during 14th century Jajnagar was generally meaning to all the regions of Orissa. Again, one inscription of this period reveals that Bhānudeva II defeated the Muslim ruler Ghiyasuddin.

In the beginning of the reign of Bhānudeva III (1352-1378 A.D.), the Banga Sultan Shamsuddin Illiyas Shah conquered Orissa upto Chilika lake in 1353 A.D., inspite of all the resistances given by the Gaṅga emperor Bhānudeva III and returned back with forty four elephants.[226] This evidence is also supported by the Persian history written by Ferista.[227] Again in the year 1360 A.D., Firuz Shah Tughluq of Delhi invaded Jajnagar or Orissa during the reign of Bhānudeva III. Bhānudeva was defeated by the Sultan. As a result, the Muslims could get an opportunity to enter into the heart of Orissa and thereby destroyed Hindu gods and temples. According to the work Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi, the Sultān desecrated the temple of Jagannātha[228] and threw its idol into the sea. The journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal states this in the manner - "Sultan Firuz destroyed the shrine, defaced the deity and

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obliterated all vestings of this temple by throwing the debris into the water of the sea."[229] On the otherhand, the desecration of the Jagannātha temple had not been clearly mentioned in the Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi of Shams Shiraj-Afif whose father accompanied the Sultan's army to Jajnagar. The work Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi says, "It is reported that, inside the Rai's fort (i.e., King Bhānu's fort at Banarasi or Cuttack), there was a stone idol which the infidels called Jagannātha and to which they paid their devotions. Sultan Firuz in emulation of Mahmud-i-Subuktigin, having rooted up the idol, carried it away to Delhi, where he subsequently had it placed in an ignominious position."[230] Dr. D.C. Sircar holds that this image of Jagannātha (Puruṣottama) at Cuttack was installed by the Gaṅga King Anaṅgabhīma III.[231] Moreover, the Puruṣottama temple at Abhinava Vārāṇasī (Vārāṇasī-Kaṭaka i.e., modern Cuttack) is mentioned in an inscription of Anaṅgabhīma III dated 1230 A.D.[232] Pandit S.N. Das has pointed out that the Sultan Firuz Shah after capturing Vāraṇāsi-Kaṭaka (Modern Cuttack) attacked Puri with an overwhelming army and destroyed many small temples. The invaders desecrated the Jagannātha temple. Firuz took away the idols of Jagannātha[233] worshipped in the temple of Puri as well as in the temple of Vārāṇasī.[234]

Thus, it seems as if the Sultan launched the attack to destroy the Jagannātha temple and to desecrate the deity. Dr. H.K. Mahatab opines that the Sultan Firuz Shah defeated Bhānudeva and destroyed not only the Jagannātha temple,[235] but also many other Hindu temples starting from Khiching to Puri. Dr. K.C. Panigrahi holds that the Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluq of Delhi desecrated Lord Jagannātha during his invasion of Orissa.[236] Dr. G.N. Mahapatra has also pointed out that when Firuz and his army entered into the Jagannātha temple, the deities were removed by the Paṇḍās to some secure place like Chilika.[237] According to Dr. C.V. Ramachandra Rao, Firuz Shah Tughluq desecrated the temple of Jagannātha and threw its idol into the sea.[238] K.N. Mahapatra, one of the eminent historians of Orissa, admitted that many years before Kalāpāhāḍa's attack, Delhi Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluq at first invaded Orissa in 1360 A.D., with a view to destroy the Jagannātha temple.[239] This has been further accepted by S.C. De,[240] a retired Superintendent of Orissa State Archives, Bhubaneswar. According to him, Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluq launched the attack in 1360 A.D., and did a lot of damages to Jagannātha temple. Moreover, the fact that the Sultan threw the debris into the sea undoubtedly proves that the temple destroyed is no other than the Jagannātha temple of Puri which is situated very close to the sea (the Bay of Bengal). Again, Lord Jagannātha was accepted as a state deity during the reign of the Gaṅga Kings. So, it is most probable that the attack of Firuz was mainly aimed at the Jagannātha temple of Puri in order to destroy the nucleus of the Orissan cult.

Thus, it may safely be concluded that the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* was composed after 1360 A.D., as this purāṇa describes the rites of purification to be observed for the entry of any Yavana (Muslim) into the temple and also mentions to cast away the Naivedya (Bhogas) if any story relating to Yavana is narrated during the worship of Lord Jagannātha.

The above date of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* becomes more open from the study of the development of Sanskrit literature in Orissa during the period. A considerable upliftment in the field of Sanskrit literature occurred in this state from 14th to 15th century A.D.

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Development of Sanskrit Literature in Orissa during 14th to 15th Century A.D.

The contribution of the Orissan culture to the field of Dharmaśāstra in India is commendable. Keeping balance with other aspects of literature, the eminent scholars of Orissa have also equally made inroad into Sanskrit purāṇas, poetics, dramas. Serious writings in Orissa started in 14th and 15th centuries during the times of the Gaṅgas and the Gajapati Kings. The upliftment of Sanskrit literature in Orissa attained its highest peak during the period of the later Gaṅgas. The history of Sanskrit literature reveals that many Kāvyas, dramas and Aḷaṅkāra Śāstras were written in Orissa during the reign of Narasiṁhadeva IV and Bhānudeva IV (Nisaṅka Bhānu).[241] The period of reign of these two kings are respectively 1378-1414 A.D. and 1414-1435 A.D.[242] Mahapatra Kṛṣṇānanda Sāndhivigrahika, a court poet of Narasiṁhadeva IV of 14th century is the author of *Sahrudayānanda Mahākāvya* which depicts the story of Naḷa. Among all the Paṇḍitas of the court of Nisaṅkabhānudeva, Viśvanātha Kavirāja and Jogīśvara Pātra earned fame. Viśvanātha Kavirāja is popular for his *Sāhitya Darpaṇa.* He also wrote several plays, viz., *Candrakaḷā* and *Pravāvatī* which come under the category of Nāṭikā in Sanskrit. The epics written by him are *Rāghava Viḷāsa, Narasiṁha Vijaya* and *Kuvaḷayasva Carita*, the first two in Sanskrit and the last one in Prakrit. Jogīśvara Pātra's *Dānadīpābaḷī* is a notable text in the field of Sanskrit literature. He also wrote the book *Adyuta Sāgara.* Candrasekhara (1246-1279 A.D.), the father of Viśvanātha Kavirāja, wrote *Puṣpamāḷā* and *Vāṣārṇava.* Kaviḍiṇḍima Jivadeva has given us in his introduction to the epic *Bhakti Bhāgavata*, a brief account of Orissa's monarchs from Coḍagaṅgadeva upto 'Pratāparudradeva'. Divākara Miśra of the 15th century has described a part of the story of the *Mahābhārata* in 40 cantos in his *Bhāratamṛta Mahākāvya. Paraśurāma Vijaya* was written by the King Kapileśvara during 15th century.

The identification of the Sanskrit purāṇas composed in Orissa is a difficult task. The glory and the sanctity of the sacred places of Orissa are extolled in most of these purāṇas. In *Skanda-Purāṇa* and in few other purāṇas, the mention of '*Utkala-Khaṇḍa*' presupposes their relation to Orissa. Besides, *Nīlādri-Mahodayam, Nīlādri-Candrikā, Ekāmra-Purāṇa, Ekāmra-Candrikā, Svarṇādri-Mahodayam, Kapila-Saṁhitā, Virajā-Māhātmyam, Puruṣottama-Māhātmyam, Prācī-Māhātmyam, Arkakṣetra-Māhātmyam, Tīrtha-Cintāmaṇi, Mukti- Cintāmaṇi, Saura-Samuccaya* also deal with purāṇic aspects of Orissa. From among these Sanskrit texts, *Kapila-Saṁhitā, Ekāmra-Purāṇa, Ekāmra-Candrikā, Svarṇādri-Mahodayam, Mukti-Cintāmaṇi, Tīrtha-Cintāmaṇi* and *Arkakṣetra-Māhātmyam* are the works during 13th to 15th century A.D.[243]

Śrīdhara Svāmī, a saintly poet of Orissa, also flourished during 14th to 15th centuries.[244] Vidyākara Vājapeyī (1360 A.D.), a great *Smṛti* writer of Orissa refers to Śrīdhara once in his work. K.N. Mahapatra has suggested that Śrīdhara referred to by Vidyākara Vājapeyī is identical with Śrīdhara Svāmī. The *Bhāvārthadīpikā Ṭīkā* written by Śrīdhara Svāmī established the Supremacy of the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa.* This work was accepted as the most famous commentary throughout India. Besides these, Śrīdhara Svāmī also wrote the *Subodhinī Ṭīkā* on *Bhagavat Gītā, Ātmaprakāśa Ṭīkā* on *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, Vedastuti Ṭīkā* and *Brajavihāra.* Evidently, he earned mastery over Śāstras and purāṇas. These works of Śrīdhara Svāmī indicate the wide popularity of Vaiṣṇavism at that time. Again, during 14th century A.D., Jagannātha

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has been described as Viṣṇu in a copperplate grant of Narasiṁhadeva IV (14th century) and for the first time in the inscriptions of Bhānudeva II in the early 14th century.[245] The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* being a *Viṣṇuite*-Purāṇa was certainly composed during 14th century A.D. This has already been confirmed by other evidences mentioned earlier.

It may be mentioned here that Śambhukara and his son Vidyākara are the famous *Smṛti* writers of Orissa and Śhri K.N. Mahapatra has convincingly dated them to the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th centuries respectively. The *Nityācārapaddhati* of Vidyākara Vājapeyī alluded to in the manuscript of *Rājabhoga* was composed sometime between 1330 and 1360 A.D.[246] Moreover, *Kramadīpikā* of Keśava Miśra (Bhaṭṭa) was composed in the middle of 14th century.[247] This is a pūjā manual of Jagannātha temple. Gajapati Kapilendradeva and *Abhinava Beṇīsaṁhāra Nāṭaka* by Puruṣottamadeva are two important works of the 15th century. *Abhinava Gītagovinda Mahākāvya* and *Gopāḷarcanā Vidhiḥ* are also composed during 15th century A.D.

Thus, the analysis of the Sanskrit literature in Orissa during the 14th to 15th centuries suggests that the *Sthaḷa-Purāṇa Nīlādri-Mahodayam* fits well into the stream of the texts composed in the said period, when the authors chose the Jagannātha Cult as the pivot to go around.

Brāhmaṇic Recognition of Lord Jagannātha

All-India Brāhmaṇic recognition of Lord Jagannātha was established when a group of scholars led by Sāyaṇācārya (1370 A.D.) while commenting on *Ṛgveda* made a reference to Puruṣottama-Jagannātha of Puri. As the name and fame of Jagannātha spread beyond the border of the Gaṅga empire, pilgrims from all over India started visiting Puri and they expected a Brāhmaṇical shrine, i.e., a Brāhmaṇic deity worshipped by the Brāhmin priests in accordance with the Brāhmaṇical mode of worship. To satisfy the feelings of these pilgrims, it became quite essential to strengthen the Brāhmaṇical elements in the cult. Many scholars tried through their writings to preach the Brāhminization of the shrine of Lord Jagannātha. Sāyaṇācārya (1300-1380 A.D.) interpreted a *Sūkta* of the *Ṛgveda* in the following manner – "There exists on sea-shore in a far off place the image of a deity of the name Puruṣottama which is made of wood floating as it were, in the sea. O Ye, by worshipping that wood indestructable, attain the supreme place of the Vaiṣṇavite."[248] According to Sāyaṇā, there are three *Sūktas* in the *Ṛgveda* which suggest that *Dāru* was regarded as the symbol of *Brahman* and the *Brahman* can be symbolized as a tree. The *Praṇava* is also taken as the symbol of *Brahman*. This *Praṇava* worship later took the tāntric form and subsequently the purāṇic form. In this way, the worship of *Dāru Brahman* and *Praṇava* have been transformed into the worship of Balabhadra, Subhadrā, Jagannātha and Sudarśana.

At the time of Sāyaṇā, the *Dārubrahma* conception was very much popular in Utkal. The wooden image of Puruṣottama singularly attracted the attention of many scholars not only in Orissa but also in India. The Skanda-*Purāṇa*[250] mentions the anecdotes concerning the images being made of *Dāru* (wood) found floating on the sea. The author of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* also depicts Lord Jagannātha as the *Dārubrahma* and thereby accepts the Brāhmaṇic recognition

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of Lord Jagannātha. This Brāhmaṇic acceptance of Lord Jagannātha presupposed Brāhminization of the shrine which must have taken place between the 10th and 14th century A.D. This evidently leads us to the conclusion that the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* is a work of Sāyaṇācārya's time (14th century A.D.).

Brāhmaṇic version of the Indradyumna Legends

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* depicts the Indradyumna legend like other Sanskrit texts. In the *Mahābhārata, Nārada-Purāṇa, Skanda-Purāṇa, Brahma-Purāṇa,* we find the mention of a Rājā with the virtues of a sage of the Satyayuga (golden age). The Jagannātha temple chronicle, *Mādaḷā Pāñji* states that he was the king of Mālava. The problem is "whether Indradyumna is a legendary king or a historical figure?" The solution demands both literary and historical research. Many scholars have also tried to open out the truth. Dr. K.C. Mishra, after a comparative study of the various works of Sanskrit and Oriya literature, has suggested that Indradyumna appears to have became a legendary figure.[252] The author of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* like the authors of other purāṇas has attributed Indradyumna to the kingship of Mālava or Avantī[253] though the records about the kings of Mālava does not mention the name of Indradyumna. Pandit Binayaka Mishra opines that the connection of Jagannātha with Indradyumna and the Śabaras is very old. Dr. Buskingham's point of view is that Indradyumna was the last king of the Pāla Dynasty.[255] Fleet identifies him with Indravaḷa, son of Udayana of Sirpur[256] in Madhya Pradesh. V.A. Smith[257] holds that he is one Indradyumna Pāla of Pāla dynasty. But all these facts are not supported by any authentic historical evidence. Moreover, the reading of one of the three inscriptions in the renowned Indradyumna tank is stated by A. Das and Pandit Sadasiva Rathashrama in the following manner – "In olden days Indradyumna excavated this tank after his name. It was renovated by Aśwamedhi Indravaḷa who was virtuous by performance of Aśwamedha Yajña. A flight of steps were provided by Queen Kaḷāvati's noble men who were under her good administration."[258] Evidently, this inscription suggests two Indradyumnas. The latter who re-excavated the tank, has been termed as Aśwamedhi Indravaḷa. Aśwamedhi signifies that this Indradyumna had performed a number of sacrifices and then undertook the sacred construction works of Jagannātha temple. So, the first builder of the temple of Lord Jagannātha may be Indradyumna or Indravaḷa II who was the ancestor of Yayāti I. This Yayāti Keśarī (Yayāti I)[259] is reputed in the *Mādaḷā Pāñji* as the Second Indradyumna who reinstalled the Jagannātha with a temple built there. More conclusively the author of *Dāru Brahma Gītā* says that Indradyumna is not a particular person but a hereditary title. Accordingly, when Rāmacandradeva of Bhoi dynasty re-installed the deities in the temple, he assumed the title Abhinava Indradyumna. Many purāṇic texts include the name of the King Indradyumna. Likewise, the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* says that he is the king of Mālava though no such evidence is recorded in any of the records[260] about the kings of Mālava. Conclusively, the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, not only accepts the Brāhmaṇic recognition of Lord Jagannātha but also attributes to Indradyumna the installation of the Jagannātha idols in the temple and preaches Vaiṣṇavism. On the basis of a critical analysis of the Indradyumṇa legends, R. Geib opines that the different Sanskrit purāṇas in which the Brāhmaṇic version

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DATE CHART OF THE NĪLĀDRI-MAHODAYAM

Evidence	Date of evidence	Date of the Nīlādri-Mahodayam
Puruṣottama Māhātmyam	8th century A.D.	As the Nīlādri-Mahodayam is composed after the Puruṣottama-Māhātmyam of Skanda-Purāṇa, its date comes after 8th century, A.D.
Cherāpahanrā	12th century A.D.	Since the Nīlādri-Mahodayam includes Cherāpahanrā, it is composed after 12th century A.D.
Koṇārka	13th century A.D.	Since the Nīlādri-Mahodayam includes Koṇārka, it is composed after 13th century A.D.
Yavana entrance	1360 A.D.	Since the Nīlādri-Mahodayam speaks of Yavana entrance into the Jagannātha temple, it is composed after 1360 A.D. Thus, it is evident that the Nīlādri-Mahodayam is composed in the 14th Century A.D.
Kapileśvara temple at Bhubaneswar	15th century A.D.	Since the Nīlādri-Mahodayam omits Kapileśvara temple, it is composed before 15th century A.D.
Popularization of Rādhā Cult in Orissa	16th century A.D.	Since the Nīlādri-Mahodayam does not include Rādhā Concept, it is composed before 16th century, A.D.

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of the Indradyumna legends is depicted, are written between 1312 to 1370 A.D.[261] This fact again places the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* in the 14th century.

Thus, it is clear from the above evidences that the date of composition of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* comes after 1360 A.D., since it mentions the rites of purification to be observed for the entry of Yavana into the temple. As argued earlier, the Yavanas desecrated the Jagannātha in the year 1360 A.D., when the Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluq invaded Orissa. Again, the absence of reference to the Kapileśvara temple suggests that the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* was composed before the construction of the Kapileśvara temple by the great Gajapati King Kapileśvaradeva in *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* in 1435 A.D. Again, this purāṇa is of an earlier origin than the *Sāraḷā Mahābhārata* (15th century). It is a work after 13th century A.D., since it mentions references to Ananta Vāsudeva temple at Bhubaneswar and the Sun-temple at Koṇārka.

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* came to existence after Anaṅgabhīmadeva III (13th century A.D.) as it describes 'Cherāpahanrā' ritual performed by the king during Ratha Yātrā of Lord Jagannātha. It was composed after the Oriya poet Jayadeva (12th century) who conceived Lord Jagannātha as the incarnation of Buddha, but the purāṇa existed before Rādhā Cult was popularized in Orissa (15th century). Again, the date of composition of the *Puruṣottama-Māhātmyam* of *Skanda-Purāṇa* (a section of the *Vaiṣṇava-Khaṇḍa*) places the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* after 13th century. All these internal and external evidences lead us to draw the conclusion that this *Sthaḷa-Purāṇa* was composed after 13th century and before 15th century A.D. and specifically in the later half of the 14th century A.D., i.e., between 1360 A.D. to 1370 A.D.

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109. *Virajā Māhātmyam*, p.17;
Mishra, B., *Dynasties of Medieval Orissa*, p.13; *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol.XVI, pp.69-83.

110. *J.A.S.B.*, Vol.IV, No.1, p.12.

111. *Sāraḷā Mahābhārata, Ādiparva*, II, p.712.

112. *Mādaḷā Pāñji*, Prachi edn., p.28.

113. Mishra, B., *Orissa under the Bhauma-Kings*, p.87ff.

114. *I.H.Q.*, Vol.XII, pp.489-93ff.

115. *E.I.*, Vol.XIX, pp.263-64.

116. *Ibid.*, Vol.XXVIII, edied by Dr. D.C. Sircar, pp.183-185.

117. *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol.II, p.419-427.

118. Sahu, N.K., *Buddhism in Orissa*, p.146.

119. *Ibid.*, p.147.

120. *Ibid.*, p.146.

121. Panigrahi, K.C., *Chronology of the Bhauma-Karas and the Somavaṁśīs of Orissa*, p.21.

122. - - -, *Chronology of the Bhauma-Karas and the Somavaṁśīs of Orissa*, p.30.

123. *Ibid., p.26.*

124. Altekar, A.S., *Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Their Times*, 1967, p.65; *E.I.*, Vol.XXXIV, 196/62.

125. Das, S.N., *Jagannātha Mandir O Jagannātha Tattva*, p.143.

126. Panigrahi, K.C., *Chronology of the Bhauma-Karas and the Somavaṁśīs of Orissa*, pp.30-33.

127. *O.I.*, Part I, 3rd edn., p.162.

128. Mahapatra, K.N., *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts of Orissa*, Vol.III, Purāṇa Manuscripts, Preface, p.XXXIX.

129. *C.J.*, p.130.

130. Panigrahi, K.C., *Chronology of the Bhauma-Karas and the Somavaṁśīs of Orissa*, p.32-33.

131. *C.J.R.T.O.*, p.16.

132. *Struggle for Empire*, Vols.IV and V, p.209.

133. Das, A. and Rathasharma, S., *Lord Jagannatha and Nepal*, p.12.

134. *L.V.*, p.205.

135. Panigrahi, K.C., *Itihāsa O Kimvadantī*, p.10.

136. *N.M.*, 1.22.

137. *Ibid.*

138. *Ibid.*

139. *S.H.C.O.*, p.98; *H.G.D.H.O.*, p.24.

140. *O.I.*, p.291.

141. Misra, Pandit Krupasindhu, Koṇārka, p.155.

142. *Jhaṅkāra*, June 1979, p.242; *O.I.*, p.224.

143. *N.M.*, 1.20-21 :

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"Dṛṣṭvā te manujā yogyāścaikāmravanalokane/
Tatra caikāmravipine nīlakaṇṭhaṁ munīśvaraḥ//
Snātvā vinduhrade ramye dṛṣṭva taṁ śivamuttamaṁ/
Te ca marttyāstathā yogyāḥ koṇārka parilokane//"
N.M., 2.57 :
"Indradyumnena mahatā prerito bhūbhṛtāhyahaṁ/
Mārgasya kalanārthaṁ vai mādhavasya prabhoḥ paraṁ//"
N.M., 3.1-2 :
"Ekāmravana saṁveśān mune sa tu nṛpottamaḥ/
Kiṁ ca kāra vāda kṣīpraṁ śrotuṁ nastacca sādarāt//
Ekāmravipine tatra ghaṇṭādi madhurasvaraṁ/
Śrutvā papraccha ṛṣayaḥ sa nṛpo nāradaṁ punaḥ//"
N.M., 3.4 :
"Ekāmra vipinaṁ nāma kṣetraṁ paramapāvanam/
Cakreṇa nirmitaṁ rājan viṣṇunā daitya Viṣṇunā//"

144. *N.M.*, 3.6 :
"Yatra kāśīṁ janākīrnināṁ santyajya nṛpate' dhunā/
Tīrtho vindu hradonāma nirmitastena śambhunā//"

145. *N.M.*, 3.7ab :
"Lingarūpī svayaṁ bhūtvā varttate girijādhavaḥ/
Tīrthavindu hrade snātvā tvananta puruṣottamam//"
N.M., 3.9 :
"Viṣṇuṁ ca sahasā tavadananta puruṣottamam/
Snātvā vindu hrade tīrthe dṛṣṭvā saṁpūjya saddvijāḥ//"

146. *N.M.*, 2.157 :
"Ekāmra vipine viprāḥ sarvapāpavimocane/
Yatrāste koṭiliṅgeśaḥ śeṣaśāyī tathācyutaḥ//"
N.M., 3.8 :
"Nāradasya vacaḥ śrutvā caikāmravanavāsinam/
Koṭiliṅgeśvaraṁ śambhumapaśyatsarvaṁ kāmadam//"

147. *N.M.*, 5.111a : "Kṛṣṇaṁ rāmaṁ subhadrāṁ ca cakraṁ caiva sudarśanam/"

148. *O.I.*, Part I, 3rd edn., p.217; *L.V.*, p.20.

149. *C.J.*, p.47.

150. *L.V.*, p.200.

151. *N.M.*, 3.9.

152. *N.M.*, 3.10 :
"Tatra dānāni karmāṇi viṣṇu prīṇanahetave/
Kṛtavānavanīnātho dharma saṁcāra satvaraḥ//"

153. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol.I, No.4, pp.274-88, This inscription of Ananta Vāsudeva temple is now preserved in the Royal Asiatic Society, London.

154. *O.I.*, Part I, 3rd edn., p.217 :
"Patnyā bīra nṛsingha deva nṛpateḥ dviṣān raṇe udyataḥ.
Datvātān surolokamāṁāpi ruṣā jetuṁ svayaiṁ sva yayau.

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Manye-sau paramorddi deva subhataḥ kīrtiṁ samullāsayan."
(Ananta Vāsudeva Temple Inscription)

155. *Prācī*, 111, P.T.I. and Sahakāra, Vol.XV, No.6; *E.I., VI, O.H.R.J.*, Vol.V, Nal., pp.67ff, 278-288; *E.I.*, Vol.XXIX, p.127; Vol.XXVIII, pp.244-245; *Indo-Āryan Culture*, Vol.II, 1953, pp.120-121; *C.J.*, p.42.

156. *P.M.*, 19.37, 40; 30.46, 92; 20.29, 59.

157. *N.M.*, 1.79a : "Viṣṇuṁ paśyanti ye bhaktyā...../"
N.M., 1.85b : "..... tatra kṣetre krīḍati keśavaḥ//"
N.M., 3.21a : "Pujayītvā sa bhagavan kṛṣṇaḥ ...../"
N.M., 6.26a : "Vāsudeva mahāvāho lokānugraha kampayā/"
N.M., 6.130b : "..... Viṣṇuṁ vāsudeva manuṁ japan//"
N.M., 3.9a : "Viṣṇuṁ ca sahasā tāvadananta puruṣottamam/"

158. *Jagannātha Caritāmṛta*, p.120, 123 :
"Kṛṣṇa nāma Jagannātha"
"Rāmaṁ Kṛṣṇaṁ Subhadrāṁ ca Vāsudevaṁ Sudarśanam"

159. *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, 3.17-6;
Das, N.K., *Oriya Sāhityara Krama Pariṇāma*, p.183.

160. *L.V.*, p.57.

161. *H.M.V.O.*, pp.5-7; *O.I.*, p.558.

162. Keith, A.B., *Sanskrit Drama*, Oxford University, p.225; Dasgupta, S.N. and De, S.K., *History of Sanskrit Literature*, Calcutta, 1962, p.449.

163. *Anargharāghava*, Aṅka I.

164. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol.I, No.2, p.9.

165. *J.A.S.B.*, 1893, p.103.

166. Pillai, L.D.S., *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol.V.

167. *S.H.C.O.*, p.561.

168. *Ibid.*

169. *E.I.*, Vol.XXX, pp.201-202.

170. *Ibid.*, p.234.

171. Sircar, D.C., *Studies in the Religious Life of Ancient and Medieval India*, p.64.

172. *E.I.*, Vol.XXXI, p.97; Vol.XXXIII, p.43.

173. Sircar, D.C., *Studies in the Religious Life of Ancient and Medieval India*, p.64.

174. *S.G.A.M.I.*, p.146.

175. Sircar, D.C., *Studies in the Religious Life of Ancient and Medieval India*, p.64.

176. Ray, H.C., *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol.I, p.478.

177. *Mādaḷā Pāñji*, Prācī edn.

178. Sircar, D.C., *Studies in the Religious Life of Ancient and Medieval India*, p.63.

179. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol.V, Nos.1 and 2, pp.66-67; *C.J.*, p.43.

180. Mahalingam, T.V., *Two Eastern Gaṅga Inscriptions at Kāñcīpuram-* vide *E.I.*, XXXI, 1955, pp.96-97.

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181. *Ibid.*

182. *L.V.*, p.193.

183. *N.M.*, 5.72-73 :
"Tato' sau nṛpatiśreṣṭho rathopari samantataḥ/
Mārjayāmāsa mārjanyā haimayā cāru śobhayā//
Tataścandananīraiśca saṁsicya tadrajaḥ kṣipet/"
N.M., 16.23-26 :
"Atha puṣpāñjaliṁ datvā candrārātrika mācaret/
Tato rājan bhavān bhaktyā rathānāṁ mārjanaṁ caret//
Candanāmbhaśca sarvatra tadrajaśca kṣipennṛpaḥ/
Saṁsthāpya mālyaṁ vasanaṁ bhaktiśraddhā samanvitaḥ//
Rathopari nṛpaśreṣṭha kṣīrataṇḍulakena ca/
Caturdikṣu valiṁ dadyādācāryastu tadānagha//"

184. *S.H.C.O.*, Article on Virajā Kṣetra by R.P. Chand.

185. Sircar, D.C., *The Śākta Pīṭhas*, p.27.

186. *Śabdakalpadruma*, S.V. Māṭṛkā; Monier-Williams, M., *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, S.V. Māṭṛkā; Apte, V.S., *Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, S.V. Māṭṛkā.

187. *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, LVII, 56.

188. *N.M.*, 2.152.

189. Mahapatra, K.N., '*Antiquity of Jagannātha Puri as Place of Pilgrimage*' - *O.H.R.J.*, III, No.1, 1954, pp.296-306.

190. *N.M.*, 6.6-8 and 6.18-23.

191. *N.M.*, 6.22 :
"Advitıya parārddhasya pramāpūraṇa kāriṇe/
Dārubrahma svārūpāya tasmai vudhātmane namaḥ//"

192. Ions, Veronica, *Indian Mythology*, pp.14-23.

193. *Ibid.*

194. *Ibid.*, p.23.

195. *Purāṇa Vimarśa*, p.171 and Apte, V.S., *Students Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p.117.

196. *Mahābhārata, Śānti Parva*, 339.103-104.

197. *Bhagavad Gītā*, IV.7-8.

198. *S.P.S.V.R.*, p.190.

199. *Ibid.*, p.191.

200. Sircar, D.C., *Studies in the Religious Life of Ancient and Medieval India*, p.43.

201. *Ibid.*

202. *Purāṇa Vimarśa*, p.559.

203. *L.V.*, p.195.

204. Sircar, D.C., *Studies in the Religious Life of Ancient and Medieval India*, p.44.

205. *Gītagovindam, Daśāvatāra* - "Keśava Dhṛta Buddha Śarīra, Jaya Jagadīśa hare."

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206. Jñānasiddhi, 1 : "Praṇipatya Jagannātham....."
C.J., p.57 and 168.

207. Mahapatra, G.N., *Jagannātha in the History and Religious Traditions of Orissa*, p.21.

208. *Mādaḷā Pāñji*, Prācī edn., p.37.

209. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol.V; *C.J.*, p.57.

210. *H.O.*, Vol.II, 1960 edn., p.513.

211. *N.M.*, 6.126 :
"Ityuktvā bhagavān viṣṇu dārubrahmasvarūpabhāk/
Tūṣṇīṁ bhūpo'bhavad viprāḥ kṛtārtho'jani bhūpatiḥ//
N.M., 6.148.
"Viṣṇuṁ dārusvarūpaṁ taṁ praṇipatya muhurmuhuḥ/
Tadagradāgataḥ sarvairnāradādyaiḥ samaṁ dvijāḥ//"

212. *N.M.*, 76.6, 63.21, 22.63, 22.68, 3.21, 3.16.

213. *N.M.*, 62.6 :
"Nandanandana eṣo'tra devatā parikīrttitaḥ/
Kḷīṁ vījamiticākhyātaṁ svāhātra śaktirupyate//"

214. *N.M.*, 2.71 :
"Vidyāpate nīḷatanuṁ mādhavaṁ devadurllabham/
Drakṣisyasi paraṁ devaṁ svaḥ prabhāte niranjanam//"
N.M., 2.75 :
"Śṛtvā tasya karaṁ dhṛtvā mārge caikapade yayau/
Yatra nīḷatanu ścāste mādhavo'mvuja locanaḥ//"
N.M., 2.81 :
"Tādṛśaṁ mādhavaṁ tatra darśayāmāsa taṁ dvijam/
Vidyāpati stato dṛṣṭvā praṇamya daṇḍavadbhuvi//"

215. *Sāraḷā Mahābhārata, Sabhā Parva* :
"Saṁsāra janaṅku tarivā nimante/
Bauddha rūpare vije acha Jagannāthe//"
Muṣalī Parva : "Bauddha rūpare hele emanta svarūpa."

216. *N.M.*, 2.62b : "Viśvāvasordvijavaro nīrasādvacanāttataḥ//"
N.M., 2.63 :
"Vidyāpate netrayugātpapātāśrujalaṁ vahu/
Atha viśvāvasuścitte cintayāmāsa bho dvijāḥ//"

217. *N.M.*, 2.44 :
"Bhrātā vidyāpatirnāma kaniṣṭho varttate nama/
Deśabhramaṇavijñastacchīlanaṁ bho karotu saḥ//"
N.M., 2.56 :
"Mālavākhyasya deśasya cendradyumnasya bhūpateḥ/
Purodhasaḥ kaniṣṭho'haṁ bhrātā vidyāpatiḥ smṛtaḥ//"

218. *N.M.*, 108b-109a :
"Yavanīya kathājātā naivedya nikaṭe tadā//
Tannaivedyaṁ vahiṣkṛtya dīrghakhāte nipātayet/"

219. *N.M.*, 13.1 :
"Uttarāyaṇe ca tadviṣṇoḥ kīdṛśaṁ pujanaṁ bhavet/

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Yātrā vā kīdṛsī vrahman tatsarvaṁ vaktumarhasi//"
N.M., 13.3-9 : "Nārāyaṇa prītikare.....kāhālamardalādibhiḥ//"

220. *S.H.C.O.*, p.137.

221. *O.I.*, Part I, 3rd edn., p.203.

222. Shiraj, *The Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, p.573.

223. *O.I.*, Part I, 3rd edn., p.203-204.

224. Elliot, H.M. & Dowson, J., *History of India*, Vol.II, p.234.

225. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol.V, No.1, p.73.

226. Elliot, *History of Bengal*, Vol.II, pp.104-105.

227. *O.I.*, Part I, 3rd edn., p.245.

228. *J.A.S.B.*, Vol.VIII, 1942, No.1, pp.57-98.

229. *J.R.A.S.B.*, Vol.VIII, p.66ff.

230. Sircar, D.C., *Studies in the Religious Life of Ancient and Medieval India*, pp.70-71.

231. *Ibid.*, p.71.

232. Mukherjee, P., *History of Jagannātha Temple in the 19th century,* Introduction, p.XI, fn.5.

233. Das, S.N., *Jagannātha Mandira O Jagannātha Tattva*, pp.147-148.

234. Vārāṇasī may be identified with Biḍānasī, a suburb of Cuttack.

235. *O.I.*, p.246.

236. *Koṇārka, Orissa Sahitya Academy Quarterly*, No.3, 1971, p.2.

237. 'Jagannātha during the Rule of the Gaṅgas and Sūryas' - by G.N. Mahapatra vide *S.H.C.O.*, edited by Prof. M.N. Das.

238. Rao, C.V.R., *The Later Eastern Gaṅgas and the Sūryavaṁsa Gajapatis*, p.37.

239. Mahapatra, K.N., *Khurudhā Itihāsa*, p.11;
Jhaṅkāra, 1970, No.12, p.1134, "Pandit Paramananda Acharya's point of view is that owing to the Muslim invasion the use of persian words were possible in Orissa since 1361 A.D. This shows that the impact of Muslims flourished in Orissa after 1360 A.D."

240. *S.H.C.O.*, p.85.

241. *O.I.*, Part I, 3rd edn., p.256.

242. *Ibid.*

243. *Jhaṅkāra*, 1979, No.IV, p.312.

244. Date of Śrīdhara Svāmin (between c.A.D. 1350-1450) - *A.B.O.R.I.*, Poona, Vol.XXX, pp.277-283; Also, *O.H.R.J.*, Vol.VI, No.IV, January 1958.

245. *C.J.R.T.O.*, p.62 and fn.8, Śrīkūram temple inscription, dated Śaka 1231-1309 A.D.; Siṁhācalam Inscription of Śaka 1241-1319 A.D.

246. Mahapatra, K.N., *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts of Orissa*, Vol.I, Introduction, p.IX.

247. *Cf.*, Umesh Misra, *Nimbārka School of Vedānta*, Allahabad, 1966, 2nd edn., p.12.

248. *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā*, Vol.IV, Ch.X, 155.3 Sāyaṇabhāṣya, p.841. (Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala, Vedic Research Institute, Poona).

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249. *Ṛgveda*, X, 81.4, pp.563-564 (Wilson's Ṛgveda, Vol.VI); X, 81.7, p.38.3; X, 114.3, pp.321-322; also, *C.J.*, p.97 and fn.6.

250. *C.J.*, p.84.

251. *N.M.*, 1.85, 2.69, 2.103, 3.47-48, 3.62-63, 3.108.

252. *C.J.*, p.83.

253. *N.M.*, 2.13 :
"Evaṁ samasta guṇavānnindradyumno mahīpatiḥ/
Mālavākhye mahādeśe hyavantīnāmataḥ purī//"
N.M., 2.56a : "Mālavākhyasya deśasya cendradyumnasya bhūpateḥ/"
N.M., 2.140a : "Avantīnagara sthaiśca cacāra nīlabhūdharam/"

254. Mahatab, H.K., *H.O.*, Vol.II, p.519.

255. *The Encyclopaedia India*, Vol.XI, p.318; *C.J.*, p.83.

256. Das, A. and Rathasharma, S., *Lord Jagannātha and Nepal*, p.10.

257. Smith, V.A., *History of India*, p.401.

258. Das, A. and Rathasharma, S., *Lord Jagannātha and Nepal*, p.11.

259. *Ibid.*, p.12.

260. *H.O.*, Part II, p.519.

261. *C.J.R.T.O.*, p.163; Geib, R., 1975, *Die Indradyumna-Legende.*

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CHAPTER - 3

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF UTKAL DURING THE TIME OF NĪLĀDRI-MAHODAYAM

The purāṇas are the chief sources of Indian Antiquity. The inestimable value of the purāṇas are today accepted not merely as sources of social, cultural, dynastic, political history of India but also its the-then geography. All the purāṇas reserve a section on historical geography giving a list of countries, tribes, mountains, rivers and sacred places. Thus, the purāṇas are a helpful source for the geographical knowledge.

The purāṇic geographical account is mixed up with mythology. It is partly based on reality and partly on imagination. The scholars have made attempts to identify the mythological names occurring in the geographical account of the purāṇas with the actual place-names. Moreover, funny and fantastic theories about the identification of geographical names occurring in the purāṇas with the present day geographical names[1] have been developed by some scholars. But in this regard, it should be borne in mind that two geographical schemes are followed by the purāṇas, one describes the geography of the world and the other embodies in it the geography of India or its territory. The scholars are of unanimous opinion that the scheme of the world-geography belongs to the domain of mythology. But with regard to the geography of India or its regional territory, the scholars opine that the geographical scheme adopted in the purāṇas is based on actuality. Both of these schemes have been followed by the *Sthaḷa-Purāṇa*, the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* which was composed during 14th century after the model of the *Puruṣottama-Māhātmyam* of the *Skanda-Purāṇa*. Many scholars have done a lot of works on the geographical data present in the different purāṇas, composed in the various parts of India; but no attempt has been made so far to critically examine the historical geography of Utkala or Oḍra as found in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*.

This present work is the first to undertake a critical study of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* which is a store-house of the historical geography of the different places of Oḍra, Utkala or Kaliṅga, the earliest names of modern Orissa. In the growing knowledge of purāṇic geography, the present work is bound to be hailed as a distinct advance.

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* directly refers to Oḍradeśa[2] which corresponds to the name of Orissa in the medieval period or during the time of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, i.e., 14th century A.D. This purāṇa, like the *Puruṣottama-Māhātmyam* of *Skanda-Purāṇa* provides geographical evidence of numerous places in Orissa. An analytical study of the geographical description in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* would reveal fully and freely the geographical constitution of the-then Orissa. Therefore, the discussion here is confined to the names of places mentioned in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*. Though, the Purāṇakāra has mainly concentrated his attempts in describing the geographical account of the Oḍradeśa, still he has not overlooked the main features of purāṇic cosmography and its conception of Bhārata Varṣa.[3] Thus, the purāṇa gives in nutshell the scheme of the world-geography based on mythology.

The study of the historical geography of Oḍradeśa or Utkala during the time of the

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Nīlādri-Mahodayam aims at a critical examination of the geographical data found in this purāṇa with a view to ascertaining the following:

I. Mythological worlds.

II. The analysis of purāṇic cosmography, its conception of Bhārata Varṣa and its divisions.

III. The study of the boundaries of Vidarbha, Kośala, Mālava and then Utkala.

IV. Historical geography of Oḍradeśa.

V. The identification of different places, rivers, mountains and *Kṣetras* of the-then Orissa from the purāṇic version of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam.*

I
Mythological Worlds

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* refers to the Koṭi Brahmāṇḍa[4] (one crore worlds) and Brahmāṇḍamaṇḍala[5] while describing the sacredness of the *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra* and drawing its geographical situation. The purāṇa believes that such a sacred *Kṣetra* is hardly available in the Koṭi Brahmāṇḍa. It is not found at any other place in the Brahmāṇḍamaṇḍala. This purāṇa, like other purāṇas does not overlook the Bhuvana Kośa tradition. It speaks of the fourteen Lokas while mentioning that the *Puruṣottama Kṣetra* is the sacred one in the fourteen Lokas[6]. According to purāṇas, the seven upper regions rising from the earth are 'Bhuḥ', 'Bhuvaḥ', 'Svaḥ', 'Janaḥ', 'Tapaḥ', 'Satyaṁ', and 'Mahaḥ' and the seven lower worlds descending from the earth are 'Atala', 'Vitala', 'Nitala', 'Rasātala', 'Talātala', 'Sutala' and lastly 'Pātāla'[7]. Among these, the three uppermost Lokas constitute 'Trailokya'. Roughly speaking there are three Lokas 'Svarga', 'Martya' and 'Pātāla'. 'Svargaloka', the celestial region is the paradise of Indra, 'Martyaloka' is the living world of the human-beings, and the dwelling place of the 'Nāgas' is the 'Pātāla'. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* includes references to Svarga (Heaven)[8] and Naraka (Hell)[9] and distinguishes between the significance of these two regions in the process of its versions. The idea of salvation is connected with the conception of heaven or the kingdom of Gods. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* believes that coming to *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra* and visiting to Lord Jagannātha can free one's soul from all sins[10] and make way to heaven. At the same time, this purāṇa prescribes Naraka for the evil doers and specially for those worshippers (pūjakas) of Lord Jagannātha who deviates from the righteous rituals of the Lord. Besides these mentions, the text of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* emphasizes on Satyaloka or Brahmaloka.

Brahmaloka

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* mentions that Maharṣi Nārada and the King Indradyumna passed through different Lokas in the course of their journey to Brahmaloka.[11] Reciting prayers in each Loka, they reached Satyaloka,[12] the abode of 'Brahmā.' Moreover, this Satyaloka is constituted by three branch Lokas - Sakraloka or Indraloka, Brahmaloka and Vaikuṇṭha Bhuvana. The Brahmaloka is conceived as the abode of 'Prajāpati' Pitāmaha[13] or Brahmā,[14] the four-headed one.[15] The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* in its fifth chapter also mentions that Brahmā,

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with Sāvitrī and Sarasvatī by his sides and with all the gods and Ṛṣis came to *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra* to install the four deities Jagannātha, Balabhadra, Subhadrā and Sudarśana. He started the journey ascending upon His Vimāna carried by hundreds of golden swans. Thus, this purāṇa believes that Brahmā, the creator of the universe is the master of Brahmaloka, which is free from thirst, hunger, diseases and death and where gods reside.

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* also refers to Vaikuṇṭha,[16] the resplendent abode of Viṣṇu, which is variously called as 'Paramapada', 'Divyasthāna', 'Paramasthāna' and Vaikuṇṭha Bhuvana. It is above the abode of Brahmā, full of lustre and auspicious. However, the devotees who reach Vaikuṇṭha never come back.[17] This purāṇa mentions that anyone, who visits the God Nṛsiṁha of *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra,* can reach Viṣṇuloka or Vaikuṇṭha Bhuvana.[18] Above all Martyaloka[19] finds inclusion in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam.*

II
Purāṇic Cosmography

Most of the purāṇas, while describing the geography of the world, believe in the fact that the earth is comprised of seven concentric island continents (Saptadvīpā Vasumatī)[20] separated by encircling seas. Each of these Dvīpas is assigned seven mountains, seven rivers and a particular tree after which the particular Dvīpa is named. The seven Dvīpas of the purāṇas are Jambu (rose-apple), Plakṣa (Indian fig tree), Śālmalī (the silk-cotton tree), Kuśa (a kind of grass), Krauñca (heron), Śāka (teak tree) and Puṣkara (blue lotus). All these seven Dvīpas are concentric and surrounded by the oceans of salt water (Lavaṇa), sugarcane juice (Ikṣu), wine (Surā), ghee (Sarpi), curd (Dadhi), milk (Kṣīra) and water (Jaḷa) respectively.[21] According to Dr. S.D. Gyani, all of these descriptions are mixed up with mythology.[22] But attempts have been made by many scholars and also by Indian History to identify the mythological names with actual place-names. There is another purāṇic conception according to which the earth consists of four great Dvīpas resembling four petals of a lotus. The pericarp of this earth-lotus is the Meru or Sumeru mountain.

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, while describing the geography of Uḍradeśa (Modern Orissa), mentions the names of Jambu Dvīpa,[23] Śveta Dvīpa[24] and Śabara Dvīpa.[25] This purāṇa admits that Śveta Dvīpa is the perpetual abode of Viṣṇu and Jambu Dvīpa as his 'Raṅgabhūmi' (the place of amusement).[26] It is mentioned in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* that the God 'Mādhava' was being worshipped in Śveta Dvīpa in the form of '*Dāru*'.[27] The Śveta Dvīpa is a part of Jambu Dvīpa and both of them are situated in the earth which is conceived as a part of Brahmāṇḍa.

Jambu Dvīpa

Jambu Dvīpa is in the centre of all the Dvīpas, the Mount Meru being situated in its middle. The name Jambu Dvīpa is derived from the Jambu-tree, because Jambu trees grow in abundance there. When the fruits of Jambu-tree are rotten, their expressed juice forms the river Jambu.[28] Thus, Jambu Dvīpa is washed by the water of the Jambu river. Jambu Dvīpa extends to a lakhs of Yojanas and is surrounded by the salt sea or Lavaṇa ocean[29] which finds

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inclusion in *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*. Obviously, the author has touched the theory of seven seas. In the passage of the *Padma-Purāṇa,* Jambunadī takes the place of Chakṣu, i.e., Oxus.[30]

The geographical account depicted in *Agni-Purāṇa* suggests that Jambu Dvīpa was given to Agnidhara by his father Priyavrata.[31] Other sources of purāṇic mythology have also mentioned that Agnidhara had nine sons to each of whom he assigned the nine Varṣas of Jambu Dvīpa. According to the Sapta Dvīpa Vasumatī conception, Jambu Dvīpa was divided into nine divisions or Varṣas, of which one is situated around Mt. Meru at the centre, three lay to the south of Mt. Meru, three to its north and one each to its east and west. These varṣas are as follows :

1. Ilāvṛta - (situated around Mt. Meru at the centre)
2. Bhārata - (situated in the extreme south of Ilāvṛta varṣa but lays between Mt. Himavat and the Lavaṇa sāgara)
3. Kimpuruṣa - (situated to the south of Mt. Meru but lays between Mt. Himavat and Mt. Hemakūṭa)
4. Hari-Varṣa - (located between Mt. Hemakūṭa and Mt. Niṣadha which is the southern boundary of Ilāvṛta-varṣa around Mt. Meru)
5. Ramyaka - (situated to the north of Mt. Meru but stood between Mt. Nīla and Mt. Śveta)
6. Hiranmaya - (lays between Sṛṅgavān and Śveta hills)
7. Kuru or Uttara-Kuru - (situated to the extreme north of Mt. Meru but bounded by Sṛṅgavān and the Lavaṇa ocean)
8. Bhadrāsva - (lays to the east of Mt. Meru but situated between Gandhamādana and the salt ocean)
9. Ketumāla - (situated to the west of Mt. Meru and bounded by Mālyavat and the Lavaṇa ocean)[32]

The *Vāmana* and *Garuḍa* describe the Varṣas in a different order.[33] But, according to Jain conception, Jambu Dvīpa had seven-fold divisions. They were Bhāraha, Hemavayu, Hari, Videha, Rammaga, Harannavaya and Eravaya. Bounding these zones are six mountain ranges, viz., Himavata, Mahāhimavata, Niṣadha, Nīḷa, Rukmin and Sikharin.[34]

Bhārata Varṣa

From among the nine Varṣas of Jambu Dvīpa, Bhārata Varṣa was given to Nābhi by his father Agnidhara. So, Bhārata Varṣa is also called *Nābhi Khaṇḍa.* Again, the son of Nābhi was Ṛṣabha, his was Bharata who gave his name to the southern Varṣa as Bhārata Varṣa.[35] There are diverse traditions regarding the origin of the name Bhārata Varṣa. In the passages of *Matsya-Purāṇa*[36] and *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa,*[37] however, the name Bhārata Varṣa is said to have been derived from Bhārata which was just a second name of Manu himself.

The purāṇic Bhārata Varṣa extends from the Himālayas in the north to the sea in the south.[38] Some ancient critics opine that the boundary of 'Bhārata Varṣa' is extended upto

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Persia and Kāndāhār, and touched even the Caspian sea.[39] The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, while describing the situation of the *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra*, refers to Bhārata Varṣa where Śrī Nīlamādhava exists.[40] This 'Varṣa' is the land of action (Karmabhūmi),[41] where heaven (Svarga) and emancipation (Apavarga) can be attained. According to popular conceptions Bhārata Varṣa was merely a part of Jambu Dvīpa though the same land seems to be called Jambu Dvīpa[42] from passages of *Kūrma-Purāṇa*[43] as well as records like some versions of Minor Rock edict I of Aśoka. Thus, sometimes, the two names 'Bhārata Varṣa' and 'Jambu Dvīpa' are used almost synonymously.

However, a number of purāṇas[44] describe the nine divisions of Bhārata Varṣa. According to purāṇic account, the nine divisions of Bhārata Varṣa are Indra Dvīpa, Kaśeru, Tāmra Dvīpa, Gabhastimān, Nāga, Saumya, Gandharva, Vāruṇa and Kumārikā. It is said that the first eight regions are the names of the eight sons of Satasṛṅga, son of Bharata and the last one is the name of his daughter. From the descriptions of *Skanda-Purāṇa*,[45] it is obvious that Satasṛṅga, dividing Bhārata Varṣa into nine parts, assigned eight to his sons and the ninth part to his daughter Kumārikā.

Many scholars like Alberuni, Abul Fazl, S.B. Chaudhuri, S.N. Majumdar, etc., have placed all the nine divisions within India proper. Ramachandra Diksitar has identified the nine parts of Bhārata Varṣa as follows :- Indra Dvīpa (Burma), Kaśerumat (eastern Bengal and Assam), Tāmravarṇa (Ceylon), Gabhastimān (Delhi and Rajasthan), Nāga (Island of Elephanta or Bombay), Saumya (Bengal and U.P.), Gandharva (Gāndhāra), Vāruṇa (westernmost end of Bhārata Varṣa) and Kumārī Dvīpa (south India).[46] But the 'Kūrma Vibhāga' of Bhārata Varṣa results in a total of 72 parts since each of the nine divisions is further divided into 8 parts.[47] The *Skanda-Purāṇa* describes that Bhārata resembles to the shape of a tortoise.[48] Moreover, eleven purāṇas, viz., *Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Matsya, Mārkaṇḍeya, Vāmana, Viṣṇu, Brahma, Kūrma, Garuḍa, Viṣṇu-Dharmottara* and *Padma* mention the Janapada list of Bhārata Varṣa. The Janapada are arranged in seven divisions in the *Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Matsya, Mārkaṇḍeya, Garuḍa* and *Vāmana* Purāṇas. These divisions are Madyadeśa, Udichya, Prāchya, Dakṣiṇāpatha, Aparānta, Vindhyavāsins and Parvatāśrayins.[49] The arrangement of the Janapadas into nine divisions is found in the *Garuḍa, Mārkaṇḍeya, Viṣṇu-Dharmottara, Bṛhatsaṁhitā* and in the *Parāsara-Tantra*.[50] The list of Dakṣiṇāpatha includes the Janapada of Kaliṅga which was situated between the river Godāvarī and the Mahānadī. Dakṣiṇāpatha is extended upto the river Tapti in the north-west, and to Vidarbha and Daṇḍaka in the south.[51]

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, while drawing the geography of Uḍradeśa (modern Orissa), the place of Jagannātha, refers to Vidarbha, Mālava and Kośala countries. Therefore, the study of the boundaries of these countries would reveal meticulously the geography of Utkala or Uḍradeśa during the time of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*.

III
Boundaries of Vidarbha, Kośala and Mālava

Vidarbha

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* includes Vidarbha Deśa where the Svayambaraḥ of Rukmiṇī was

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held and was attended by the God Kṛṣṇa.[52] The kingdom of Vidarbha was founded by Jyāmagha or his son Vidarbha.[53] It was the oldest Āryan colony in the south. It comprised the valley of Payoṣṇī in the north and extended on both the banks of the river Varadā.[54] The marriage ceremony of Rukmiṇī was celebrated at Kuṇḍinapura[55] which was the name of the earlier capital of Vidarbha.[56] It has been also said that the country Vidarbha is situated to the east of Bhadrakālī and to the west of Rāmadurga.[57]

Kośala

The king of Kośala finds inclusion in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* while the evening rituals of Lord Jagannātha are described.[58] It seems that the purāṇa refers to Indradyumna as the king of Kośala. This kingdom with its city on the Vindhyas was founded by Kuśa, son of Rāma, a Kośalan prince.[59] But the kingdom of Kuśa has been wrongly identified with Kuśīnagar by Dr. R.B. Pandey.[60] Pargiter thinks that the long stay of Rāma in Chhattisgarh district would have connected it with his home, Kośala; hence probably arose its name.[61] The *Vana Parva* of *Mahābhārata* distinguishes Kośala from Vidarbha and indicates that Kośala was located to the north of Dakṣināpatha. But the Allahabad Pillar inscription[63] of Samudragupta describes Kośala along with the territories of Dakṣiṇāpatha. However, the purāṇas declare the people of Kośala as the inhabitants of the Vindhya regions along with the Mekalas and the Utkalas. Kośala comprised the modern districts of Bilaspur and Raipur in Madhya Pradesh together with the districts of Sundargarh, Sambalpur and Bolangir in Orissa.[64] The Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang visited Kośala in 639 A.D. He estimated the kingdom as 6000 li or 1000 miles in circuit and the distance of its capital as 1800 li or 300 miles from the capital of Kaliṅga.[65] It is also revealed from the itinerary of Hiuen Tsang that the pilgrim came to Kośala from the capital of Kaliṅga after having travelled a north-westerly course of about 1800 li or 300 miles.[66]

Again, Uttara and Dakṣiṇa Kośala are mentioned as two distinct territories in some works like the *Avadanaśataka*.[67] The boundary of Dakṣiṇa Kośala is wider as compared to Uttara Kośala. So, Cunningham calls this country (South Kośala) as Mahākośala. From the pilgrim's itinerary, he has defined the boundary of Kośala in the following manner - "Kośala must have been bounded by Ujjain on the north, by Maharashtra on the west, by Orissa on the east, and by Andhra and Kaliṅga on the south."[68] According to an inscription, Mahākośala or Dakṣiṇa Kośala is extended from the confines of Berar to Orissa and from Amarakaṇṭaka to Bastar.[69] Modern Sirpur (old Śrīpura) on the Mahānadī in the Raipur district and Tummāna and Ratnapur in the Bilaspur district were important cities of Dakṣiṇa Kośala.[70]

Prof. M.N. Das and others have pointed out that Śrīpura was the capital city of Kośala.[71] Beal[72] places the capital of Kośala at Nagpur or Amarāvati by calculating the distance of 1800 or 1900 li of Hiuen Tsang from Rajamahendri. The Somavaṁśī King Yayāti II succeeded in unifying Kośala and Utkala under his rule. But then he had to separate Kośala from Utkala under political grounds as a result of which Yayātinagara became the capital of Utkala and Suvarnapur at the confluence of Mahānadī and Tel was made the capital of Kośala. However, Anaṅgabhīmadeva III, once again succeeded in unifying Kośala and Utkala under a single sceptre in 1212 A.D.[73] Thus, the historical geography of Utkala or Oḍradeśa as mentioned in

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the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* is fully related to the boundary of Kośala, since the two countries were unified under the rule of the Somavaṁśīs and the Gaṅgas.

Avantī and Mālava

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* mentions that Avantī was a city in the country of Mālava.[74] Indradyumna was the king of Mālava and Vidyāpati was his younger brother.[75] Avantī is the ancient name of Mālwa.[76] It has been called Mālwa since the seventh or eighth century A.D. The *Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Matsya, Mārkaṇḍeya, Vāmana* and *Padma* refer to the Avantis in the Janapada list.[77] In the *Brahma-Purāṇa*, the city of Avantī is said to be situated on the banks of the Śipra,[78] in the land of Mālava.[79] Avantī possibly refers to west Mālwa.[80] It is generally identified with the district round Ujjain (in the former Gwalior state). Moreover, the present text of *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* describes that Indradyumna, while coming from the city of Avantī to Nīlabhudhar (Nīlācala or Puri) reached the northern shore of the river Mahānadī.[81]

Cunningham describes the geography of Mālwa as follows : "The limits of Mālwa would thus be defined, by Vadari on the north, Balabhi on the west, Ujjain on the east and Maharashtra on the south."[82] According to *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra*,[83] the great country Mālava is situated to the east of Avantī and to the north of the river Godāvarī. Dr. G.N. Mahapatra points out that Avantī and Mālava were considered as the parts of South India.[84] Hiuen Tsang's account makes it clear that Mālwa was situated in the south-west of India.[85]

IV
Historical Geography of Oḍradeśa or Utkala

Antiquity of the name Oḍra

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* includes the country Oḍradeśa where the sacred *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra* is situated.[86] The origin of the term 'Oḍra' goes back to the times of the early Greek writers who refer to a people called 'Oretes', the Sanskrit equivalent of which may be 'Oḍras'. Pliny,[87] in his 'Natural History' (1st century A.D.) presents the name of Oretes in the list of Indian races. The epics and the purāṇas make us believe that the Oḍra land existed as early as the time of the Mahābhārata war.[88] The Pāli[89] and Sanskrit[90] texts make repeated mention of Oḍḍaka and Oḍra respectively. Prof. M.N. Das has co-related the two words 'Oretes' and 'Oḍra' in the following manner - "The Greek 'Oretes' and the Sanskrit 'Oḍras', both seem to have been suggested by the term 'Or' or 'Orua' meaning rice. In fact, the word 'Orua' prevalent in Orissa since early time seems to be the same as the Greek 'Oruza' meaning rice, and the Oxford Dictionary states that 'Oruza' is a loan word in Greek from some oriental source. The 'Oretes' or the 'Or' (Oḍra) people may, therefore, mean either the 'Rice eating' or the 'Rice growing' people."[91] Some of the ancient manuscripts, such as *Manu Smṛti* of about 3rd century A.D., mention the Uḍras. Again, the *Nāṭya Śāstra* ascribed to Bharata Muni speaks of the people of the land of Oḍra.[92] It may, therefore, be pointed out that the territories of Oḍra were named after the tribe inhabiting these lands.

Alberuni in his work refers to Orissa as 'Uḍra-Viṣau'[93] which is no doubt a derivative

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form of the Sanskrit 'Oḍra Viṣaya'. The Orissa portion of Harṣa's empire was also known as 'Oḍra-Viṣaya'. The tribal name Uḍra or Oḍra lies at the root of the forms like Auḍrīya-Viṣaya, Oḍḍi-Visaa and Oḍi-Viśa. The Tibetan author Tāranātha mentions the name as Oḍi-Viśa.[94] The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang who visited Orissa in about 638 A.D., speaks of the U-cha or Oḍra country. This country, according to Cunningham, corresponds exactly with the modern province of Oḍra or Orissa.[95] The 'Soro Plate' of Somadatta belonging to the medieval times, also refers to the country as 'Oḍra'.[96] The Oriyās spell the work Orissa as Oḍiśā in their language. In Persian and Arabic works, Orissa is recorded as 'Ursfin' or 'Ursin'. The word Uḍiśā of Afif is probably derived from the word Ursfin of the geographer Ibn Khurdadhbih (9th century A.D.) and Ursin of Hudud-al-Alam (10th century A.D.), the original being Oḍradeśa.[97] The Muslim Chronicler Shams-i-Siraj Afif, in the later part of the 14th century A.D., stated in clear terms the name of this territory as 'Jājanagar-Uḍiśā.[98] It is thus obvious that the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* being a work of the later part of the 14th century A.D., mentions Oḍradeśa, which was the name of the country having the cult of Jagannātha.

Boundary

According to the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, Oḍradeśa is situated on the coast of the Salt-sea and to the north of it.[90] The Vindhya Mountain lays to the west of this country.[100] This purāṇa also mentions that the sacred *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra* or Nīlācala is the main part of Oḍradeśa.[101] To the west of Nīlācala is situated Śabara Dvīpa which is inhabited by the Śabaras.[102] The forests of Śabara Dvīpa comes after crossing the famous river Mahānadī, which flows towards the east-sea below the Vindhya Mountain.[103] This description of the territory as found in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* agrees to a great extent with the boundaries of Oḍra country drawn by different scholars from time to time.

From the travel accounts of Hiuen Tsang, General A. Cunningham opines that the boundary of the Wu Cha or Oḍra country was 7000 li in circuit.[104] Practically, the area of the territory was undoubtedly very extensive since it was more than 7000 li or 1400 miles in circuit. Cunningham further presents the boundary of this country as follows : "The ancient province of Oḍradeśa or Or-deśa was limited to the valley of the Mahānadī and to the lower course of the Suvarṇarekhā river. It comprised the whole of the present districts of Kaṭaka (Cuttack) and Sambalpur, and a portion of Medinipur. It was bounded on the west by Gondwana, on the north by the wild hill-states of Jashpur and Singhbhum, on the east by the sea, and on the south by Ganjam."[105] His geography of Oḍra or Orissa conceives that the Oretes were living somewhere near the Mahānadī river and its tributaries and were the people of Orissa.[106]

Dr. D.K. Ganguly, after studying the historical geography of Orissa upto the rise of imperial Gaṅgas, has stated that the boundary of Oḍra country is extended from the Mahānadī in the north to Pārlakimedi taluk in the south, and from Dakṣiṇa Kośala in the west to Toṣāli in the east.[107] However, after the Bhauma-Karas, the name Toṣāli lost its popularity and the names Oḍra and Utkala, Oḍra or Auḍra were gradually applied to mean the entire coastal Orissa and ultimately to the whole Oriya-speaking area. According to D.C. Sircar's point of

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view, "probably the Uḍras originally lived in the land lying to the north of the ancient Utkala country."[108]

As demarcated by G.A. Grierson,[109] the Oriya-speaking area is stretched from the districts of Midnapore and Singhbhum in the north to portions of Ganjam and Vizagpatam districts in the south and from portions of Sambalpur and Raipur districts in the west upto the sea in the east. This agrees well with the present geography of Orissa.

Utkala

Though Oḍra, Utkala, Kaliṅga present some common features, yet they cannot be regarded as one country. In fact, Kośala, Oḍra, Utkala, Kaliṅga, Toṣala (Toṣāli) and Kaṅgoda were the parts of the present Orissa. The Oḍra country is, without doubt, distinct from the territory of Utkala as known from the epigraphical records of the Somavaṁśīs and the Bhauma-Karas.

The territory of Utkala, according to the purāṇic accounts, is older than that of Oḍra, Kaliṅga and Kośala. Early purāṇas like *Matsya*[110] and *Vāyu*[111] describe Utkala people as inhabitants of the Vindhya regions along with the Mālavas, Karusas, Mekalas, etc. Pargiter,[112] however, suggests that Utkala comprised the southern portion of Chhotanagpur, because Chhotanagpur hills are considered to be an extension of the Vindhya ranges. The Utkala in the epic and purāṇic literature is the same as Ukkala or Okkala in the Pāli literature. The early Buddhist literature like the *Vinaya Pitaka*[113] and the *Jātakas*[114] indicate that the Utkala Janapada was outside the limits of the Majjhima deśa, whereas the *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa*[115] mentions Utkala as a kingdom of Madhyadeśa. It may be pointed out that although the *Mahābhārata* sometime associates the Utkalas with the Oḍras, Kaliṅgas and Āndhras, it does not ignore the association of the Utkala territory with that of the Mekalas. Thus, Karna, in the *Mahābhārata*,[116] is said to have conquered the Utkalas along with the Mekalas, Kaliṅgas, Āndhras, etc. *Rāmāyaṇa*[117] also refers to Utkala, Mekala and Daśārṇa since Sugrīva is represented as directing Suseṇa to send his retinue among other countries of the south to Utkala, Mekala and Daśārṇa. According to *Skanda-Purāṇa*,[118] Utkala is situated on the southern sea containing holy places.

Dr. D.K. Ganguly suggests that Utkala and Oḍra-Viṣaya denoted the same region in the first half of the seventh century A.D. Later, in the Dirghasi inscription (1075 A.D.),[119] Utkala and Oḍra were mentioned as two different territories. Again, the idea of making Utkala synonymous with Oḍradeśa, started with the growth of territory of the Imperial Gaṅgas. Dr. D.C. Sircar describes "Uḍra as a synonym of Utkala first in the sense of the Balasore region and then to indicate also the Cuttack-Puri-Ganjam[120] area." According to S. Levi, "Oḍra was another name of Utkala."[121] Kālidāsa makes no mention of Oḍra as Hiuen Tsang makes no mention of Utkala. B.C. Law opines that Utkala may be assigned to the territory bounded by the river Kapisā on the north and by the realm of Kaliṅga on the south, while its western limit is extended upto the Mekala hills.[122] However, in the purāṇic age, the name Utkala or Oḍra was mostly used for Puri region. *Brahma-Purāṇa* uses the term Utkala in the sense of the extensive coastal region of Orissa, which is extolled as a holy country and which could boast of the sacred cities of *Virajā-Kṣetra* and *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra*. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* similarly

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mentions Nīlācala[124] or Puri in Oḍradeśa. According to Dr. H.K. Mahatab, gradually Oḍra or Utkala became one.[125] In fact, during the time of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* (14th century A.D.), both Oḍra and Utkala were roughly meaning to the same country. Thus, Oḍra and Utkala stand for the name of the same country.[126]

From the Bhubaneswar Stone Inscription of Narasiṁha I, it is evident that Utkalaviṣaya comprised the Puri and Bhubaneswar regions. The *Skanda-Purāṇa*[127] states that Utkala comprises the territory from the river Ṛṣikulyā to the rivers Suvarṇarekhā and Mahānadī. The eastern boundary of Utkala seems to have extended upto the river Kapisā and to the realm of the Mekalas in the west.[128] The *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*[129] mentions Utkaladeśa as denoting Modern Orissa.

Kaliṅga

In the ancient times, the major portion of Orissa was included in the country of Kaliṅga and the powerful people of this country were known as Kaliṅgas. The earliest mention of Kaliṅga is possibly met with in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.*[130] But, the Kaliṅgas are referred to in the early Brāhmaṇical literature as well as in the old Pāli canons. The country of Kaliṅga is mentioned by Pāṇini[131] as well as by *Bodhāyana.*[132] The *Arthaśāstra*[133] mentions the elephants of Kaliṅga, Aṅga, Prācya and Karūṣa as belonging to the best of their types (*Kaliṅga - Aṅga-gajāḥ śreṣthāḥ Prācyās - ceti Kārūṣajāḥ*). The *Mahābhārata* in *Vana Parva* clearly indicates that the Ganges' mouth marked the northern extent of the land of the Kaliṅga people.[134] However, neither Kaliṅga nor the country Kaliṅga find mention in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam.*

Most of the purāṇas place Kaliṅga in South India. In the *Vāyu* and *Mārkaṇḍeya*[135] purāṇas, the Kaliṅgas are described as the people of Dakṣiṇāpatha, being associated with the Mahārāṣṭras, Muṣikas, etc. The *Brahmāṇḍa, Brahma* and *Vāmana* purāṇas mention that the Kaliṅgas are the inhabitants of the Madhyadeśa.[136] According to *Matsya* and *Kūrma* purāṇas, the Kaliṅga country is extended as far as the Amarakaṇṭaka hills. Thus, it is obvious that the Purāṇakāras were familiar with many settlements of the Kaliṅga people, scattered over different regions.

The Arjuna-Vanavāsa section[137] of the Ādiparvan mentions :

"Aṅga-Vaṅga-Kaliṅgesy yāni puṇyāni kānicid/
Jagāma tāni sarvāṇi tīrthāny - āyatanāni ca//."

Thus, *Mahābhārata* refers to Aṅga, Vaṅga and Kaliṅga. The Tīrtha-Yātrā section[138] of the *Vanaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* has described - *"eṣa Kaliṅgaḥ Kaunteya yātrā Vaitaraṇī nadī."* This shows that the river Vaitaraṇī, in the age of *Mahābhārata*, formed the geographical boundary of the Kaliṅga country. Again, the ancient Kaliṅga country seems to have comprised modern Orissa to the south of the river Vaitaraṇī and the sea-coast southwards as far as Vizagpatam.[139] It also included the Amarakaṇṭaka range which is said to be in its western part.[140] Actually, however, the north-eastern boundary of the ancient Kaliṅga country lay even beyond the Mahānadī, although Kaliṅga did not include the whole of modern Orissa.

In the 4th century B.C., Mahāpadmananda conquered not only the whole of the coastal

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Tract of Kaliṅga but also the Kingdom of Asmaka which was located to the south-west of Kaliṅga beyond the river Godāvarī.[141] The Hāthigumphā inscription speaks of an old and deserted capital of Kaliṅga called Pithuda identified with Pitundra metropolis mentioned by Ptolemy and with the port of Pihunda described by the Jaina *Uttaradhyayana Sūtra.*[142] The Aśokan edicts show that in the 3rd century B.C., the major portion of Orissa was known as Kaliṅga.[143] Under Aśoka, the headquarters of Kaliṅga was located at Toṣāli identified with the modern village Dhauli in Puri district, while a secondary headquarters named Somāpā developed close to modern Jaugaḍa in Ganjam district. Thus, the Puri region, particularly Bhubaneswar came to be included in the land of Kaliṅga during the 3rd century B.C., when Aśoka conquered the Kaliṅgas and annexed the Kaliṅga country to his empire. During the 1st century B.C., Puri formed a part of Kaliṅga as Khāraveḷa, the great emperor of Kaliṅga, made Bhubaneswar[144] (Śiśupāḷagaḍa) his capital seat. Khāraveḷa is described as Kaliṅgādhipati in his own Hāthigumphā inscription and Kaliṅga-Cakkavatti in the inscription of his Chief queen. In the Hāthigumphā inscription the capital is called Kaliṅganagarī.

The geography of the land of the Kaliṅga people as given by the classical writers like Pliny (c.A.D. 23-79) and Ptolemy (c. the middle of the second century A.D.) is not so much clear. Pliny stretches the southern limits of Kaliṅga to Cape Calingae which has been identified with point Godāvarī at the mouth of the same river.[145] The account of Pliny also shows that Kaliṅga is extended in the north-east upto the Ganges. Dr. H.K. Mahatab states that according to the geography of India written by Pliny, the boundary of Kaliṅga is extended upto the Ganges in the north, the Godāvarī in the south, the Mountain ranges in the west and the sea is the east.[146] The division of the land of Kaliṅga people into three parts as Gangarides Calingae, Macco-Calingae and Calingae has been referred to by Pliny on the basis of the travel accounts of the Greek writer Megasthenes.[147] Ptolemy does not refer to Kaliṅga, but the three places in his geography are Kaliṅga, Sambalaka and Paloura.

Utkala and Kaliṅga are mentioned as two separate kingdoms in the *Raghuvaṁśam*[148] of Kālidāsa. According to this work, the Utkalas guided the army of Raghu after its conquest of Bengal across the river Kapisā (now in Midnapore district of West Bengal) towards the land of Kaliṅgas. This shows how Kālidāsa appears to take the Utkalas and the Kaliṅgas as two different stocks of people. The *Raghuvaṁśam* also describes the king of Kaliṅga as the lord of Mahendragiri. According to Kālidāsa, Mahendra was a mountain in Kaliṅga.[150] Cunningham identifies the Mahendra with the present Mahendramale range, now standing on the borders between Orissa and Andhra.[151] The *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* also refers to Mahendramale range as the source of the Ṛṣikulyā river which flows through the district of Ganjam of Orissa.[152] Again, the Daṇḍakāraṇya included in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśam* was a great forest as far as the borders of the Kaliṅga country.[153] B.C. Law[154] has pointed out that Kaliṅga country stretched along the coast of the Bay of Bengal from Utkala in the north to the mouth of the Godāvarī in the south.

The boundary of the Kaliṅga country under the Māṭhara rule became confined to the region from the Mahānadī to the river Godāvarī except for a short period when the Māṭharas attempted to push as far as the river Kṛṣṇā in the south.[155] The territorial boundary of Kaliṅga was diminished still further when the Eastern Gaṅgas, succeeding the Māṭharas, came to power

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in about 500 A.D. Under the Eastern Gaṅgas, the kingdom extending from the Ṛṣikulyā in the north to the Nāgavali in the south came to be known as Kaliṅga. Thus, the coastal tract forming the kingdom of Kaliṅga was narrow.

It is revealed from the Sumandala Plate of 569 A.D.,[156] that the Kaliṅgarāṣṭra was under the rule of one Pṛthivivigraha-bhaṭṭāraka. During the sixth century A.D., the southern boundary of Kaliṅga was frequently altered due to the wars between the rulers of the North and South. Hiuen Tsang's point of view is that in seventh century A.D., the capital of Kaliṅga was situated at a distance of 1400 or 1500 li to the south-west of Ganjam.[157] However, in the early medieval period, the kingdoms of the Early Eastern Gaṅgas was exclusively known as Kaliṅga. The Gaṅgas became a formidable power under Coḍagaṅgadeva (1078-1147 A.D.) who conquered the coast land from the Gaṅgas in the north to the Godāvarī in the south and hence the major portion of ancient Kaliṅga was included in his dominion. But the name 'Kaliṅga' lost its popularity as Coḍagaṅga declared his empire as 'Sakalotkala'.[158] Soon, the capital of the Gaṅga kingdom was shifted to Jajnagar, i.e., Yājapura in Cuttack district and finally to Abhinava-Vārāṇasī-Kaṭaka (modern Cuttack) in A.D. 1212-13.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the Muslim writers had applied the name Jajnagar to the Gaṅga kingdom. By the time of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, the name Kaliṅga lost its importance and Oḍradeśa became popular to denote the coastal Orissa such as *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra* or Puri, *Ekāmra-Kṣetra* or Bhubaneswar, *Arka-Kṣetra* or Koṇārka and *Gadā-Kṣetra* or Yājapura. But, the Lord Jagannātha has been regarded as a deity of both Kaliṅga and Utkala at one and the same time,[159] whereas Oḍra and Utkala have a common feature of including Puri region into them.

Tri-Kaliṅga

Some epigraphic and literary sources speak of the territorial extent of Tri-Kaliṅga. The epigraphic records identify Tri-Kaliṅga as a distinct and separate territory. The text of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* does not refer to this country, which shows that the name Tri-Kaliṅga was already wiped out from the geographical map of Orissa by the time of this purāṇa i.e., by 14th century A.D. In fact, the term Tri-Kaliṅga was popular during the rule of the Eastern Gaṅga Kings and some of them assumed the title of the 'Lord of Tri-Kaliṅga' or 'Tri-Kaliṅgā-dhipati'. The Jirjingi Copper-plate grant[160] of the Eastern Gaṅga King Indravarman I is the earliest epigraphic record to make mention of the Tri-Kaliṅga territory. Indravarman declares himself in this grant as the Lord of Tri-Kaliṅga with his capital at Dantapura. The Copper-plate grants of the Eastern Calukyas mention both Kaliṅga and Tri-Kaliṅga and thus distinguish between the two territories.[161]

A. Cunningham[162] is of the opinion that 'Tri-Kaliṅga' means 'three Kaliṅgas' which comprises the three kingdoms of Dhanaka or Amaravati on the Kistna, Andhra or Warangal and Kaliṅga or Rajamahendri. Binayak Mishra,[163] B.C. Mazumdar[164] and R.G. Basak[165] viewed that Tri-Kaliṅga comprised Kaliṅga proper, kaṅgoda and Utkala. Subba Rao[166] opined that the union of Utkala or North Kaliṅga, Kaliṅga proper and Tel-Kaliṅga or South Kaliṅga formed Tri-Kaliṅga which extended from the Ganges in the north to the Godāvarī in the south.

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According to D.K. Ganguly,[167] the three parts of the Tri-Kaliṅga country are North Kaliṅga or Ganjam district, South Kaliṅga or Godāvarī district and Madhya Kaliṅga or Visakhapatnam district. D.K. Ganguly[168] has pointed out that some of the Gaṅga inscriptions mentioned Madhyama Kaliṅga which led scholars to opine for the existence of South and North Kaliṅga.

Pliny's statement about Macco-Calingae, Gangarides-Calingae and Calingae presents the idea of three Kaliṅgas in early times.[169] Following Wilson, Cunningham has mentioned that the *Mahābhārata* refers to the Kaliṅgas thrice and each time in association with different people.[170] According to a palm leaf manuscript of the *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa*, the territory extending from the river Ṛṣikulyā to the Jhañjāvatī was called Kaliṅga,[171] while Tri-Kaliṅga extended from the Jhañjāvatī to the river Vedavatī. Jhañjāvatī is a tributary of the river Nagavali and Vedavatī is identified with the modern Indrāvatī river.[172]

According to Fleet,[173] the title of Tri-Kaliṅgādhipati was a meaningless attribute in the generality of cases. D.K. Ganguly also doubts in the authenticity of most of the interpretations of Tri-Kaliṅga and he states in the following manner - "The use of the term in the sense of an extensive kingdom, comprising Kaliṅga, Kaṅgoda and Utkala, or as stretching from the Ganges to the Godāvarī, appears to be far-fetched.[174]

Toṣala

Like Oḍra, Utkala, Kaliṅga, the territory of Toṣala or Toṣāli was once upon a time meaning to a portion of Orissa. Toṣala is very ancient a name as it is found mentioned in the *Atharva Veda Parisiṣṭa*[175] along with the people of Kośala. The *Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Matsya, Mārkaṇḍeya* and *Vāmana* purāṇas[176] mention the people of Toṣala in the Janapada list and locate them in the Vindhyan region. These purāṇas associate the Toṣalas with the Koṭalas, Traipuras, Vaidisas, Tumuras, Tumbaras and Niṣādas. Toṣāli as head-quarters of Kaliṅga has been mentioned in the Aśokan Rock Edicts I and II.[177] The geography of Ptolemy[178] also refers to the city of Toṣāli under the name Tosalei or Tosale. The *Gaṇḍavyūha*,[179] a Sanskrit Buddhist text mentions the Surabha mountain situated to the north of the chief city of Amita Toṣala. N.K. Sahu opines that the Surabha hill may be identified with the Dhauli or with one of its adjoining hills,[180] and B.C. Law points out that Amita Toṣala may be supposed to be the same as Dakṣiṇa Toṣala.[181]

According to D.C. Sircar, "The name Dhauli appears to have sprung from Toṣāli through the intermediate forms Tohali and Dhoali."[182] The observation of S. Levi makes no difference between the site of Dhauli and that of Toṣāli. He states - "Toṣāli perhaps occupied the same site as that of Dhauli today. The vestiges of a large city that have come to light near the site of Dhauli confirms this identification and indicate beyond doubt that in Aśoka's time Dhauli was the capital of Kaliṅga."[183] Moreover, Kaliṅganagarī, the capital city of Khāraveḷa's empire is identified by K.P. Jayaswal[184] with Toṣāli, the capital of Kaliṅga under Aśoka in the 3rd century B.C. The ancient city of Toṣāli, i.e., the modern Dhauli in Puri district was probably the capital of the Vigraha kingdom.[185] Thus, unanimously the scholars are of opinion that Toṣāli is identified with either modern Dhauli near Bhubaneswar or with a site[186] near it in Puri district. In fact, the excavations at Śiśupāḷagaḍa near Bhubaneswar have revealed the

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existence of such a city from 3rd century B.C. to 4th century A.D.[187] This site is located in close neighbourhood of Dhauli. N.K. Sahu is inclined to identify Śiśupāḷagaḍa near Bhubaneswar with Toṣāli.[188]

The northern and southern Toṣāli are mentioned in the Copper-plate inscriptions of Cuttack district.[189] The Kanasa Copper plates of the Vigraha King Lokavigraha make mention of Dakṣiṇa (south) Toṣāli.[190] Both the Soro Plates of Mahārāja Sambhuyasas[191] and Somadatta[192] mention Uttara-Toṣāli. Thus, the two divisions of Toṣāli, viz., Uttara (north)-Toṣāli and Dakṣiṇa (south)-Toṣāli began to be commonly used from the last quarter of sixth century A.D. However, M.N. Das has suggested that the boundary of the Northern Toṣāli, in 600 A.D., was extended from the river Kapisā to the Mahānadī and whence the Southern Toṣāli was extended from the Mahānadī to the river Ṛṣikulyā.[193] The river Mahānadī was probably the dividing line between the two Toṣālis.

The inscriptions of the Bhauma-Karas reveal that both Uttara-Toṣāli and Dakṣiṇa-Toṣāli were popular during the time of the Bhauma-Karas. The Balasore region of the ancient Utkala country was roughly known as Uttara-Toṣāli.[194] According to D.K. Ganguly,[195] Uttara-Toṣāli corresponds to modern Balasore district and parts of Cuttack. S.N. Rajaguru[196] opines that the territory of Uttara-Toṣāli stretched from the Kasai in the north upto the river Vaitaraṇī in the south. However, B. Das[197] suggests that the Uttara-Toṣāli, possibly, comprised the whole of Midnapore district of West Bengal and the whole of Balasore district, the south-eastern portion of Mayurbhanja district together with the northern portion of Cuttack district of Orissa.

Kaṅgoda

In the beginning of the seventh century A.D., Sambhuyasa succeeded in unifying both the Toṣālis under his sceptre. Śaśāṅka, the king of Karnasuvarna, captured Kaṅgoda some time before 620 A.D.[198] But, a great change suddenly occurred in the political history of Orissa and sometime before 620 A.D., Uttara-Toṣāli was redesignated as Utkala under Somadatta and Dakṣiṇa-Toṣāli named as Kaṅgoda under Mādhavarāja.[199] After the period of Harṣavardhana, the Uttara-Toṣāli or Utkala was ruled by the Dattas, while Dakṣiṇa-Toṣāli christened as Kaṅgoda came under the rule of the Sailodbhavas. They continued to rule over Kaṅgoda-Maṇḍala[200] till the time of Unmattakeśarī, the king of Bhauma-Kara dynasty. According to S. Levi, this time was the first half of the eighth century A.D.[201] The Sailodbhavas were ruling over Kaṅgoda, extending from the river Mahānadī to Ṛṣikulyā or Mahendra hill. One Copper-plate related to Sailodbhavas reveals that the capital of Kaṅgoda was situated on the bank of the river Sālīmā. Some have identified this river with Sāḷiā, which meets Chilika Lake.[202] From the travel accounts of Hiuen Tsang, it seems that Pālur port was the capital of Kaṅgoda. Ganjam is situated at a short distance from Pālur. Some are also of opinion that Vaṅkāḍa of Puri district or the place near it was the capital of Kaṅgoda.[203] The Bhauma-records reveal that the territory of Kaṅgoda formed an administrative division in Dakṣiṇa-Toṣāli under the Bhauma-Karas. The Copper-plate grant of Daṇḍī-mahādevī mentions Kaṅgoda-Maṇḍala as a part of Southern Toṣala.[204] The Somavaṁśī King Dharmaratha occupied the South Toṣāli portion of the Bhauma-empire and renamed it as Kaṅgoda.[205]

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D.C. Sircar[206] mentions that the Ganjam-Puri-Cuttack region was known as Dakṣiṇa-Toṣāli. S.N. Rajaguru's argument[207] is that the Dakṣiṇa-Toṣāli extended from the Vaitaraṇī in the north down to the river Ṛṣikulyā in the south. But this view is not commonly followed. The general viewpoint[208] is that the land lying to the north of Mahānadī was known as Northern Toṣala while the region lying to the south of Mahānadī was known as Southern Toṣala.

On the basis of Hiuen Tsang's accounts[209] it has been pointed out that Kaṅgoda had a circumference of 200 miles and the circumference of its capital was 4 miles. This country was situated to the south-west of Oḍra,[210] and was the southern part of Orissa, comprising the present districts of Ganjam and Puri (Chilika Lake area).[211] Kaṅgoda or Kanyodhara was formed out of the regions between Kaliṅga and Utkala. As pointed out by Dr. Mahatab, the primary boundary of Kaṅgoda stretched upto the river Mahānadī in the north, Ṛṣikulyā in the south, Dakṣiṇa-Kośala in the west and the sea in the east.[212] He also mentions that the northern boundary of Kaṅgoda was extended upto Vaitaraṇī.[213]

The names Toṣāli, Kaṅgoda, etc., gradually lost their significance due to the political animosity among the rulers of different countries. As a result, Anantavarmana Coḍagaṅgadeva (12th century A.D.) of the Gaṅga dynasty united Kaliṅga, Kaṅgoda, Oḍra or Utkala and Tri-Kaliṅga and placed them under one administration. During the rule of the Gaṅgas, the name Oḍra or Utkala became important instead of the name Kaliṅga. The name Oḍradeśa or Oḍadeśa has been used in the Copper-plates, inscriptions, and other historical elements of 9th and 10th century A.D.[214] In this way the name 'Oḍradeśa' came to popular use by the time of composition of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* (14th century), which refers to this country.[215]

V

Identification of Different Places, Rivers, Mountains and Lakes of Oḍradeśa

In the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, Sūta describes the geography of the *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra* which throws light upon the geography of Oḍradeśa.[216] However, the geography of the Oḍradeśa burns brightly out of the great journey of the King Indradyumna, starting from Mālava to the *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra* of Oḍradeśa.[217] In the course of his journey, Indradyumna crossed many rivers and passed through many places of Oḍra country. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* presents meticulously the descriptions of these places and rivers. Besides these, the holiness of a few mountains and lakes are depicted in the purāṇa.

Places

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* includes *Gadā-Kṣetra* or *Virajā-Kṣetra* (Yājapura),[218] *Ekāmra-Kṣetra* (Bhubaneswar),[219] *Carcikā-Kṣetra* (Bāṅki),[220] *Arka-Kṣetra* (Koṇārka),[221] *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra* (Puri)[222] and Cakra-Tīrtha.[223] Indradyumna, the king of Mālava came across these places while his expedition was carried to the *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra* or Puri. Each of these places holds the past glory and sanctity of Orissa and finds mention in different purāṇas and Māhātmyas. Again, the inclusion of these places in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* clearly opens out the main geographical parts of Cuttack-Puri region of Oḍra country during the time of this purāṇa.

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Gadā-Kṣetra

In ancient times Yājapura (modern Jajpur) was a renowned centre of Tāntric worship and the Mother Goddess Cult. The Bhauma-Kara records reveal that this place was known as Guhadevapaṭaka and then Guheśvara-Pāṭaka. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* of 14th century A.D., refers to *Gadā-Kṣetra* on the bank of the river Vaitaraṇī and mentions that the Goddess Virajā is the presiding deity of the place.[224] This geographically exactly coincides with the present location of *Virajā-Kṣetra* or Jajpur which is situated in the Cuttack district of Orissa. Thus, *Gadā-Kṣetra*, the place of Virajā is identified with the *Virajā-Kṣetra* or Yājapura.

Yājapura was an old seat of Śāktism. The *Mahābhārata* in its *Vanaparvan*[225] makes a particular mention of the place as fit for pilgrimage. The *Gayāsura Māhātmya* section[226] of the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* alludes to the sacredness of the place by describing the story of the demon Gayāsura. According to this story, Viṣṇu slew the Demon Gayāsura. When his burial was performed by Brahmā, Viṣṇu and the Devas, his head remained buried at Gayā, his navel at Jajpur and his feet extended as far as the Mahendra mountain of Kaliṅga. The *Virajā-Māhātmyam* which forms a part of the *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa* also repeats the story. The famous Nābhigayā, where lies the navel portion of Gayāsura, is situated in the campus of Virajā temple. At this place, people offer Piṇḍas in commemoration of the departed Souls of ancestors. Again, the Somavaṁśī King Yayāti Keśarī celebrated ten Aśvamedha sacrifices at Yājapura with the help of ten thousand Brāhmaṇas, brought from Kanauja. The Daśāśvamedhaghāṭa in the river Vaitaraṇī goes in the favour of the ten horse sacrifices at the place.

Kapila-Saṁhitā also describes the sanctity and importance of *Virajā-Kṣetra.*[227] During the time of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, Gālava was the king of Virajā Maṇḍala.[228] The King Gālava is no other than Gālamādhava, who established the God Mādhava.[229]

Carcikā-Kṣetra

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* mentions that the King Indradyumna reached the bank of the river Mahānadī while on way to the *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra.*[230] The king with his people took rest there during the night and again started journey when it is dawn. They crossed the river Mahānadī and visited to the Goddess Carcikā, the Śakti of Viṣṇu.[231] The present geography of this place shown that it was Bāṅki, the abode of the Goddess Carcikā.

Bāṅki is now included in the Cuttack district of Orissa and its territory stretched along the bank of the river Mahānadī. It was a place on the border of the Utkala country in ancient Orissa.

Cakratīrtha

This purāṇa extols the holiness of Cakratīrtha in the mouth of Maharṣi Nārada, the guide of Indradyumna's journey. Nārada describes that Cakratīrtha is situated at the place where the river Citrotpalā falls into the sea.[232] Taking bath here, one's Soul attains salvation and does not take rebirth.

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According to Pandit S.N. Das,[233] Cakratīrtha is situated near the estuary of the Bāṅki-muhāṇa river. Here is the temple of Cakranārāyaṇa. Mythology says that this place is the residence of Varuṇa, the father of Lakṣmī.

Ekāmra-Kṣetra

The text of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* presents a graphic description of the Ekāmravana[234] or Bhubaneswar, the present capital of Orissa. This place bore the names of Svarṇādri, Ekāmra, etc. The glory and sanctity of *Ekāmra-Kṣetra* are sung not only in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* but also in some of the eighteen purāṇas. The description found in the *Utkala-Khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda-Purāṇa*[235] reveals many facts about the antiquity of Bhubaneswar. *Kapila-Saṁhitā, Svarṇādri-Mahodayam, Ekāmra-Purāṇa* and *Ekāmra-Candrikā* offer a much more comprehensive picture of this *Kṣetra*, though most of the places mentioned therein hardly exist today.[236] Moreover, *Ekāmra-Kṣetra* is found mentioned in some of the epigraphic records[237] of the past ages. It commanded fame even in the times of *Brahma-Purāṇa* and *Garuḍa-Purāṇa* which describe that the name Ekāmra was originated from the growth of a large mango tree in the forest here.[238] Describing this *Kṣetra* in the mouth of Sūta, the said author of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* mentions that Nīlakaṇṭha or Sadāśiva is worshipped here in the Ekāmra forest.[239] The purāṇa further refers to Koṭiliṅgeśa (Liṅgarāja) of this place.[240] The King Indradyumna and his people visited Ananta-Puruṣottama and Liṅgarāja after taking bath in the Vinduhrada.[241]

However, the territory of the *Ekāmra-Kṣetra* or Bhubaneswar, as extolled by the *Kapila-Saṁhitā*, is situated to the north of Nīlācala or Puri. The Svarṇādri-Mahodayam[243] defines this place as having an area over ten miles, extending from the Khaṇḍācala (i.e., Khaṇḍagiri) in the west to the temple of Vahiraṅgeśvara atop the Dhauligiri in the south. According to the geography of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam,* Ekāmra is situated at the end of the boundary of *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra* (Puri)[244] in Oḍradeśa.

When Śaivism gained momentum in the country of Oḍra, Bhubaneswar became crowded with numerous Śiva temples like those of Siddheśvara, Bhāskareśvara, Śiśireśvara, Mukteśvara, Liṅgarāja, Brahmeśvara, Megheśvara, Pascimeśvara, Uttareśvara, Rāmeśvara, Alāvukeśvara, Cintāmaṇiśvara and the like. In addition to this, Ekāmra has become the abode of the gods and goddesses like Rājārāṇī (Indreśvara), Kedāreśvara, Gaurī, Kāpālinī, Mohinī, Sāvitrī, Pārvatī, Lakṣmaṇeśvara, Bharateśvara, Satrughneśvara, Sīteśvara, Laveśvara, Vahiraṅgeśvara, Gaṅgeśvara, Saṅkateśvara, Kuṇḍaleśvara, Mitreśvara, Varuṇeśvara, Gopālinī or Bhuvaneśvarī, Dākrā Bhīmeśvara (Vibhiṣaṇeśvara), Dakṣiṇa Caṇḍī, Siddha Lambodara, Ananteśvara, Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa, Lakṣmī Nṛsiṁha, Ananta Vāsudeva, Vaitāla and Kapileśvara, etc. These and similar other temples,[245] which number about five hundred vary in size from the gigantic structures like the great Liṅgarāja, 128 feet high to the miniatures of a few feet set up in waysides or along the banks of ancient tanks. According to the legends, there were seven thousand temples of deities surrounding the Vindusarovara in Bhubaneswar.[246]

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Sites of Kapoteśvara and Vilveśvara

From *Ekāmra-Kṣetra*, the King Indradyumna passed through the places of Kapoteśvara and Vilveśvara.[247] The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* describes the Māhātmyas of these two places in the mouth of Nārada. As projected in the text the purāṇa, Bhagavān Kṛṣṇa himself came to the place of Vilveśvara, slew the demons and established the God Śiva there in order to remove away the wicked ones.[248] On the otherhand the origin of the name Kapoteśvara is interesting to note. According to the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam,* Sadāśiva came from Vārāṇasī to the east in order to visit Viṣṇu in Nīlācala. He reached this place before Puri and here he performed deep meditation like a dove and then saw Viṣṇu and Mādhava. From the time, the God Mahādeva here became famous as Kapoteśvara.[249]

However, the present geography locates the same Kapoteśvara temple at Candanapura which is situated at the bifurcation of the rivers Bhārgavī and the Mittiāṇi (or Kāṭhapola Nadī) leading to Puri. The temple of Vilveśvara stands on the eastern side of Puri and beside the sea-shore.

Arka-Kṣetra

Arka-Kṣetra is one among the sacred *Kṣetras* of Orissa. The names, *Arka-Kṣetra, Maitreya* forest, *Padma-Kṣetra* and Moṇārka are mentioned in *Brahma-Purāṇa, Śāmva-Purāṇa, Kapila-Saṁhitā* and *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*, etc. *Prācī-Māhātmyam* calls it *Arka-Kṣetra* or *Ravi-Kṣetra*. The original name of the place was Koṇākoṇa from which is derived the modern name Koṇārka. From the Copper-plates of Narasiṁhadeva II it is known that Narasiṁhadeva I (Lāṅgulā Narasiṁhadeva) had built the temple of Sun-god at Koṇākoṇe. W.W. Hunter[250] points out that Koṇārka signifies 'Koṇa+Arka' which means to the corner of the region of Orissa, dedicated to the Sun. Thus, the meaning of the word Koṇārka is the Arka (Sun-god) at Koṇa.

From the *Brahma-Saṁhitā* of Varāhamihira, it is obvious that Sun-temples came to be built up in India under the influence of the Magas who constituted the priestly class of the Śaka community.[251] According to R.G. Bhandarkar[252] the Sun-worship was started in India by the Śakas.

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* refers to both Koṇārka[253] and *Arka-Kṣetra*[254] as the abode of Sun-god. The purāṇa locates this place near the river Candrabhāgā.[255] However, presently Koṇārka lies at a distance of about 21 miles to the north-east of Puri. The sea is about a mile and a half to the south-east of the Sun-temple.

Puruṣottama-Kṣetra

The author of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* eulogizes the sanctity of the *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra* and depicts the Māhātmyas of Lord Jagannātha there. This sacred place of Jagannātha, the Lord of the world, is differently designated as *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra, Śrī-Kṣetra, Śaṁkha-Kṣetra, Nīlācala, Nīlabhūdhara*, Puri, etc. According to Pandit S.N. Das, this *Kṣetra*, in ancient times,

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was known as *ŚrīKṣetra, Daśāvatāra-Kṣetra, Bhauma-Kṣetra* and *Divya-Kṣetra.* Among these names the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* refers to *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra*,[257] Nīlācala,[258] Nīlabhūdhara,[259] etc.

Some scholars have argued that the *Vanaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* contains the earliest mention of Puri as a place of pilgrimage. The name Puri means 'city' and it does not seem to have been in use before the British occupation of Orissa, it is supposed to be an abbreviation of 'Jagannātha Puri' i.e., the city of Jagannātha. The purāṇas, *Kūrma, Nārada, Padma* and *Skanda* pay eloquent tributes to the sanctity of the place and its presiding deity. The *Puruṣottama-Māhātmyam* of *Skanda-Purāṇa* and the *Brahma-Purāṇa* describe this place as the heaven on the earth, Bhūsvarga.[260] The *Kapila-Saṁhitā*[261] of fourteenth century A.D., extols Puri as the holiest site in the three Lokas and thus mentions its superiority to Banaras in point sanctity.

Ain-i-Akbari[262] has described this place as the city of Puruṣottama. Sir Thomas Row, the first European author, has named it as 'Jagannātha' after the celebrated deity of the place, and then the other Europeans have mentioned Puri as the city of Jagannātha. The name, Puruṣottama-Kaṭaka is included in the Oriya-scripts of the 15th century A.D. In the official records of early British period, this place was described as the city of Jagannātha and the Collector of Puri district was called the Collector of Jagannātha.[263]

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* projects a clear and distinct geography of the *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra.* The purāṇa locates this great and sacred *Kṣetra* in Oḍradeśa, which is decorated with many tīrthas.[264] The Purāṇakāra describes that the Māhātmya of the *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra* spreads from the river Ṛṣikulyā to the river Vaitaraṇī.[265] The boundary of the region lies to the south of 'Mahānadī' and to the north of the sea.[266] The 'Nīlabhūdhara' is situated on the sea-shore to the north.[267] Its area spreads over five Krośas (ten miles) and looks like the shape of a Conch (Śaṁkhākāra).[268] In fact, the region, extending from the Lokanātha-temple in the west of Nīlācala to the Vilveśvara-temple in the east and from the Svargadvāra in the south to the river Mātiā in the north, is known as *Śaṁkha-Kṣetra.* According to the geography of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, there exists as island of Śabaras (Śabaradvīpaka) to the west of Nīlācala.[269] This island is the dwelling place of the Śabaras.[270] Speaking about the situation on Puri, the *Brahma-Purāṇa* opines that the land between the holy tree Kalpavaṭa and the Bay of Bengal is the famous *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra* or Puri.[271] The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* also refers to Mahāvaṭa near Nīlācala[272] and calls it Kalpapādapa.[273]

Mountains

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* mentions the Vindhyaparvata[274] and the Nīlādri[275] as the two mountains in the two extreme sides of Oḍra country, the first one lying to the west and the second on the sea-shore to the east. The foot-prints of Brahmā and Viṣṇu appear there in front of the Vindhya Hills.[276] Kālidāsa mentions the foot of the Vindhya while describing the source of the river Revā in his *Meghadūtam.*[277] The *Mahābhārata*[278] and the *Padma-Purāṇa*[279] also refer to Vindhyaparvata. According to B.C. Law, the Vindhya mountain extends eastwards for a distance of about 700 miles from Gujarat on the west to Bihar on the east.[280]

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However, the text of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* emphasizes on the mountain 'Nīlādri' also called 'Nīlācala'[281] or 'Nīlagiri'. Many other purāṇas also depict the *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra* as a magnificently situated region with the Nīlādri in its centre. The Kalpavaṭa (a Banyan tree) stands majestically on the peak of the Nīlādri.[282] Each and every part of the soil of Nīlācala feels the omni-presence of the Lord Nīlamādhava,[283] the earlier name of Lord Jagannātha. Accordingly, the great temple of Lord Jagannātha stands on this hill.

Forests

The author of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* describes the sacrednss of the Naimiṣā forest,[284] the Ekāmra forest[285] and the forest in the Śabaradvīpa.[286] The purāṇa begins with the glory and sanctity of the Naimiṣā forest, which is an important place of Hindu pilgrimage, being one of the 51 Pīṭhasthānas (holy places) and an abode of the ancient Āryan sages who wrote the purāṇas here. Sūta was honoured by the sages, Śaunaka and others, while he visited Naimiṣāraṇya.[287] Similarly, the text of the *Padma-Purāṇa* mentions that Maharṣi Nārada was honoured by the sages when he visited Naimiṣāraṇya.[288] Kālidāsa refers to Naimiṣā in his *Raghuvaṁśam.*[289] It is situated on the banks of the Gomti in the Sitapur district. The name Naimiṣīya, mentioned in the *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*[290] and the *Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa*,[291] denotes dwellers in the Naimiṣā forest. The *Mahābhārata*[292] and the *Kūrma-Purāṇa*[293] also refer to this holy place. According to the *Padma-Purāṇa*[294] the twelve year sacrifice was held in the Naimiṣā forest. However, the location of Naimiṣā forest clearly indicates that it is situated beyond the limits of Oḍra country.

The other two forests, Ekāmravana and Śabaradvīpa Kānana are included within the boundary of the Oḍra country. The purāṇa describes the presence of Lord Śiva in the Ekāmra forest which is assigned the name *Ekāmra-Kṣetra*[295] (modern Bhubaneswar). This forest is situated at the end of the boundary of the *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra.*[296] According to the narrations of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, the King Indradyumna sent Vidyāpati to locate the Lord Mādhava.[297] The Brāhmin Vidyāpati started his expeditions, crossed the river Mahānadī and reached the Śabaradvīpa Kānana, where he met with Viśvāvasu, the Śabara great.[298] Presently, the temple of Nīlamādhava stands amidst a small forest at Kantilo on the bank of the river Mahānadī. The very situation recollects the existence of a large forest range there. Kantilo is now a place of pilgrimage situated in the Puri district of Orissa.

Rivers

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* refers to the rivers Mahānadī,[299] Citrotpaḷā,[300] Ṛṣikulyā,[301] Vaitaraṇī,[302] Candrabhāgā[303] and Bhārgavī.[304] The holy rivers represent the past glory of Orissa and find their mentions in different purāṇas. The geographical boundary of Oḍra country depends more or less on these rivers.

The Mahānadī is the largest river in the province of Orissa. It rises from the hills in the south-eastern part of Berar in Madhya Pradesh, enters into the soil of Orissa near Sarareipāli village of Sambalpur district and from here the river flows through Bolangir district, forms the border between Dhenkanal and Baud districts then flows past Cuttack, forms a large delta and

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finally falls into the Bay of Bengal near Paradip to the north. According to the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam,* the famous river Mahānadī rises from the eastern part of the Vindhya Hills and flows towards the Eastern-sea.[305] The Purāṇakāra mentions that Mahānadī is compared to the Ganges, in destroying all sins.[306] The same description is also found in the *Mahādevī-Māhātmya* chapter of the *Kapila-Saṁhitā* :

Mahānadyāṁ naraḥ snātvā dṛṣtvā vai pārvatī-Haram/
Sarva-pāpavinir-yukto Gaṅgā-snāna-phalaṁ labhet//

The *Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Matsya* and *Vāmana* purāṇas include the name of Mahānadī.[307]

The Mahānadī is fed by a large number of tributaries. Citrotpaḷā is one among these. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* describes that the river Citrotpaḷā is a branch of Mahānadī and very much sacred.[308] This river finds inclusion in *Kūrma, Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa*-Purāṇas.[309]

The rivers, Vaitaraṇī and Ṛṣikulyā find their mention in *Vāyu, Kūrma, Vāmana* and *Mārkaṇḍeya* purāṇas.[310] The *Mahābhārata* also refers to these rivers.[311] Both, Vaitaraṇī and Ṛṣikulyā are included in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* in order to demarcate the boundary of Oḍra country.[312] The purāṇas do not forward a unanimous view as regards the source of Vaitaraṇī. According to the *Kūrma, Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Matsya* and *Vāmana* purāṇas the Vindhya is the source of the Vaitaraṇī, while the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa, Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* and *Brahma-Purāṇa* mention the Ṛkṣa instead. The river actually rises among the hills in the north-west of Keonjhar, separates Balasore and Cuttack districts of Orissa during its flow and finally falls into the Bay at Dharma. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* extols the sanctity of a bath taken in Vaitaraṇī.[313] The *Kapila-Saṁhitā* also depicts that a person, taking the plunge in the river, attains the same virtue as he would get by a dip in the Ganges.[314] The river Ṛṣikulyā, also called Ruṣikulyā, flows through the northern portion of Ganjam district of Orissa. According to Cunningham, the territory of Ganjam was confined to the small valley of the Ṛṣikulyā river.[315]

The text of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* refers to the river Bhārgavī flowing near Nīlācala[316] and to Candrabhāgā in the neighbourhood of *Arka-Kṣetra.*[317] The river Candrabhāgā is now relegated to an insignificant rivulet, flowing at a distance about half a mile to the north of Koṇārka. The *Kapila-Saṁhitā* refers to both, Candrabhāgā and Bhārgavī[318] whereas the *Puruṣottama-Māhātmyam* of the *Skanda-Purāṇa* is silent about these two rivers.[319]

Lakes

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* includes references to Vinduhrada,[320] Mārkaṇḍeyahrada[321] and Indradyumna tank.[322] The Purāṇakāra has taken Vindusarovara and Mārkaṇḍeya tank for the lakes (hradas) of Oḍradeśa. He has described Indradyumna tank as a famous and sacred pit of the *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra.* Both Indradyumna tank and Vindusarovara are taken by Dr. Awasthi for lakes.[323] But in fact, none of the above three is a lake, each one is a tank of large size having pious traditions. Vindusarovara is situated at the *Ekāmra-Kṣetra* (Bhubaneswar) and the other two, Indradyumna tank and Mārkaṇḍeya tank are situated at the *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra* (Puri). According to the descriptions of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* one visits the Lord Ananta Vāsudeva near Vinduhrada, the Lord Śiva near Mārkaṇḍeyahrada and offers

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Śrāddhas to the forefathers after taking bath in Indradyumna tank.[324] However, this purāṇa does not refer to 'Chilika' and 'Aṁśupā', the lakes of Orissa.

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam,* thus, presents a clear and distinguished geography of the Oḍra-Utkala region of the-then Orissa. It also includes some portions of Kaṅgoda country, which is evident from Sūta's descriptions of *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra* and its Māhātmya spreading over a region between Ṛṣikulyā and Vaitaraṇī. The projection of the remote mythological worlds and the purāṇic cosmography of the 'dvīpas' highlights on the location of contemporary Bhārata Varṣa. A vivid picture of the *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra* is the special feature of this *Sthaḷa-Purāṇa.*

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   Tasminnāste mahākṣetraṁ pavitraṁ puruṣottamam/
   Tatra nīlācale ramye mādhavo nīlasundaraḥ//"
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15. *N.M.*, 5.94b-95 :
"Atrāntare vrahmalokācchataharhsa samanvitam//
Divyaṁ vimānaṁ sauvarnaṁ samāruhya caturmukhaḥ/
Ubhayoḥ pārśvayostasya sāvitrī ca sarasvatī//"

16. *N.M.*, 3.65 :
"Sarvapāpavinirmuktāste vai vaikuṇṭhavāsinaḥ/
Tannamaskuru rājendra viṣṇu vuddhyā ca pādapam//"

17. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, X.88.25-26.

18. *N.M.*, 3.65a.

19. *N.M.*, 4.57b : "Ayaṁ tiṣṭhatu bhūpālo martyalokāt samāgataḥ//"

20. *Vāyu*, I, 1.80, 6.48, 8.15, 33.4; *Viṣṇu*, I, 4.49, 22.15; *Brahmāṇḍa*, 37.13cf; *Mahābhāsya* (Keilhorn's edn.), Vol.I, p.9; The number is sometimes raised to nine (*Padma*, Svargakhaṇḍa, VII, 26) and sometimes to eighteen (*Vāyu*, I, 24-23).

21. *Agni*, 108.1-2; *Garuḍa*, 54.4-5; *Viṣṇu*, II, 2.5-7; *Mārkaṇḍeya*, 56.5-7; *The Matsya* (Chs.121-122) and *Padma*, (Svargakhaṇḍa, IV) mention them in different order.

22. Gyani, S.D., *Agni Purāṇa - A Study*, p.151.

23. *N.M.*, 4.105 :
"Jamvudvīpe raṅgabhūmistatra śete janārddanaḥ/
Matsabhāyaṁ prabhāte'san jāgraddevo ramāpatiḥ//"
N.M., 3.68 :
"Śvetadvīpaḥ priyoviṣṇoḥ jamvudvīpastatha priyaḥ/
Tayormadhye mahāviṣṇorāvirbhāvaṁ bhaviṣyati//
Yato nānāvidhaṁ bhogaṁ bhuktavān bhūtabhāvanaḥ//"

24. *N.M.*, 3.47, 3.103, 4.93.

25. *N.M.*, 2.50 :
"Ityuktvā sahasā vipraḥ samuttīryya mahānadīm/
Śanaiḥ śanairviveśātha śavaradvīpakānane//"

26. *N.M.*, 4.104 :
"Nānāvatāralīlānāṁ śarmabhuṁkte jagatpatiḥ/
Aparaṁ ceṣṭitaṁ tasya kṣīra sāgara sāyinaḥ//"

27. *N.M.*, 3.47a : "Śvetadvīpe manoramye mādhavo dārurūpabhāk/"
N.M., 4.93 :
"Soyamantarhitaḥ śrīmān śvetadvīpe vyavasthitaḥ/
Tatodāru svarūpaṁ ca dhṛtvā sa nṛpateḥ prabhuḥ//"

28. Singh, M.R., *A Critical Study of the Geographical Data in the Early Purāṇas*, p.2. and fn.19.

29. *N.M.*, 2.28.

30. *Padma*, Svargakhaṇḍa, 6.66-69; Cf. *Mahābhārata*, VI, 6.50.

31. Gyani, S.D., *Agni Purāṇa - A Study*, p.152.

32. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Chs.33-34; *Matsya Purāṇa*, Ch.113; *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Ch.54.

33. *Vāmana*, 13.3.5; *Garuḍa*, 55.1.3.

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34. Jain, J.C., *Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jain Canons*, p.249.
35. *Vāyu*, I, 33.37-45; *Brahmāṇḍa*, Ch.35.30; Cf. Bhāgavata which gives Ajanābha as the name of Bhārata Varṣa, V, 4.3, 7.3; XI, 2.24.
36. *Matsya*, 114.5.
37. *Brahmāṇḍa*, 49.10.
38. *Vāyu*, I, 45.75-76; *Viṣṇu*, II, 3.1; *Agni*, CXVIII.1.
39. The Vedic Āryans, the R.K. Saṁhitā by Dr. D.V. Paranjape, 24th Oriental Conference, 1968, p.22; and *History of Indian Culture*, Winternitz, cited in Natha Dharmara Krama Vikāśa by Dr. D. Sastri, p.3.
40. *N.M.*, 1.61b : "Svargāgataiḥ suraiḥ sarvairccito divyavastubhiḥ//"
41. *P.M.*, 22.12; *Padma, Gurumaṇḍala*, V, p.1060; *Kriyā Yoga*, Ch.17, SI.260.
42. *Sel.Ins.*, 1942, p.50.
43. *Kūrma*, I, 35-41.
44. *Vāyu*, I, 45-78ff; *Brahmāṇḍa*, 49.10ff; *Mārkaṇḍeya*, 57.5ff; *Vāmana*, 13.8ff; *Garuḍa*, 55.4ff; *Varāha*, 85.1ff; *Agni*, 108.1ff; *Matsya*, 114.7ff; *Brahma*, 27.14ff; *Viṣṇu*, II, 3.1ff; *Kūrma*, 46.22ff.
45. *Skanda*, I, 2.39-67.
46. Dikshitar, V.R.R., *Some Aspects of the Vāyu Purāṇa*, pp.107ff and 184.
47. *J.U.P.H.S.*, Vol.XVIII, Parts 1 and 2, p.37 old series.
48. *Skanda*, VII.I.11.18-19.
49. *Vāyu*, (V), I, 45; *Brahmāṇḍa* (V), I, 2.16; *Matsya*, 113; *Mārkaṇḍeya*, 57; *Vāmana*, 13.
50. Singh, M.R., *A Critical Study of the Geographical Data in the Early Purāṇas*, p.11 and fn.71.
51. *Ibid.*, p.13.
52. *N.M.*, 37.6 :
"Vidarbhadeśe deveśa nānānṛpagaṇāñcite/
Ṛkmiṇyā rūpavatyāśca jāyate tu svayaṁ varaḥ//"
53. *A.I.H.T.*, p.269.
54. Singh, M.R., *A Critical Study of the Geographical Data in the Early Purāṇas*, p.284 and fns. 359 and 360.
55. *Viṣṇu*, V, 26.4-5.
56. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, V, 26.1-9; *Bhāgavata*, X, 53.7, 54.20; Cf. *Mbh.*, III, 60.19, 72.2; V, 157.14.
57. *S.G.A.M.I.*, p.97.
58. *N.M.*, 10.74b.
59. *Rāmāyaṇa*, VII, 107.4; *Vāyu*, II, 26.98.
60. Pandey, R.B., Gorakhpur Janapada Aura Uskikṣatriya Jātiyān, p.53.
61. *A.I.H.T.*, p.278.
62. *Mbh.*, Vanaparvan, LVIII, 22.
63. Fleet, *C.I.I.*, III.
64. *I.A.*, Vol.LXII, 1933, p.162; Das, M.N., *S.H.C.O.*, p.41.

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65. Watters Y. (Tr.), *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, II, p.200; S.H.C.O., p.41.
66. Ganguly, D.K., *H.G.D.H.O.*, p.77.
67. Avadanaśataka, Story No.47; *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, Reprinted 1971, p.20.
68. *C.A.G.I.*, 1979, p.444.
69. *The Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute*, Vol.VII, p.88 and *E.I.*, X, No.4.
70. *I.A.*, Vol.LXII, p.163; *Cf.*, *I.H.Q.*, Vol.III, p.70.
71. *S.H.C.O.*, p.41.
72. *Travels of Hiuen Tsang*, IV, p.414.
73. *E.I.*, XXXX, p.125ff.
74. *N.M.*, 2.13 :
"Evaṁ samasta guṇavānnindradyumno mahīpatiḥ/
Mālavākhye mahādeśe hyavantīnāmataḥ puri//"
75. *N.M.*, 2.56 :
"Mālavākhyasya deśasya cendradyumnasya bhūpate/
Purodhasaḥ kaniṣṭho'haṁ bhrātā vidyāpatiḥ smṛtaḥ//"
76. *Kathāsarit-Sāgara*, Ch.XIX.
77. *Vāyu* (V), I, 45.134; *Brahmāṇḍa* (V), I, 2.16.65; *Matsya*, 13.54; *Vāmana*, 13.56; *Mārkaṇḍeya*, 57.55; *Padma*, Svargakhaṇḍa, 6.38; Cf., *Mbh.* (C), VI, 10.41.
78. *Brahma*, 41.79.
79. *Ibid.*, 41.28.
80. Singh, M.R., *A Critical Study of the Geographical Data in the Early Purāṇas*, p.353 and fn.260; *S.G.A.M.I.*, p.97.
81. *N.M.*, 2.140 :
"Avantīnagarasthaiśca cacāra nīlabhūdharam/
Uttaraṁ tīramāsādya mahānadyā manoramam//"
82. *C.A.G.I.*, 1979, p.414.
83. *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra*, Book III, Ch.VII, Verse 21.
84. *L.V.*, p.143; *Dāru Devatā*, p.91.
85. *C.A.G.I.*, 1979, pp.414-415.
86. *N.M.*, 2.29a.
87. Bostock and Riley (Trs.), *Pliny's Natural History*, Vol.II, p.46 and 75.
88. *Mbh.*, Vana, li, 1938, *Bhiṣma*, IX, 365, *Droṇa*, IV, 122.
89. *Apādāna*, II, 358.
90. *Mānava Dharmaśāstra*, X, 43-44; *Padma Purāṇa*, V, 52.
91. *S.H.C.O.*, p.30.
92. *S.G.A.M.I.*, 1971, p.175.
93. Sachau, E.C., *Alberuni's India*, 1914, Vol.I, p.200.
94. *I.A.*, Vol.IV, pp.365-66.

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96. *E.I.*, Vol.XXIII, p.202.
97. *S.H.C.O.*, p.30.
98. Raverty, H.C., *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, Vol.I, p.592.
99. *N.M.*, 2.28.
100. *N.M.*, 2.144 :
"Paścimasyāṁ diśi śreṣṭho vindhyonāmo girirṇṛpa/
Varttate cātra vai brahmāviṣṇupāda dvayaṁ puraḥ//"
101. *N.M.*, 2.29.
102. *N.M.*, 2.31 :
"Tasya paścimabhāge'pināmnā śavaradīpakaḥ/
Āśramaḥ paścimascāste śavarāṇāṁ nivāsabhṛt//"
103. *N.M.*, 2.145 :
"Sthāpayitvārccayattasmātparvatānnirgatāpyasau/
Mahānadīti vikhyātā pūrvasāgaragāmini//"
104. *C.A.G.I.*, 1979, p.430.
105. *Ibid.*, p.431.
106. *Ibid.*
107. Ganguly, D.K., *H.G.D.H.O.*, p.58.
108. *S.G.A.M.I.*, p.176.
109. *S.H.C.O.*, p.32 and also *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol.V, p.367.
110. *Matsya Purāṇa*, CXII, 52-53.
111. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, XLV, 132-133.
112. Pargiter, F.E., *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p.327.
113. *Mahāvāga*, S.B.E., XIII, pp.81-84.
114. *Jātaka*, I, p.80.
115. *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, II, 16, 42; III, 7, 358.
116. *Mbh.*, Droṇa Parva, IV, 122; Bhiṣma Parva, IX, 348.
117. *Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa*, XL, 11.
118. *Skanda*, Ch.VI. 2-3; *Brahmāṇḍa*, II, 16.42; III, 7.358.
119. *E.I.*, IV, pp.316ff.
120. *S.G.A.M.I.*, 1971 edn., p.177.
121. Bagchi, P., *Pre-Āryan and Pre-Dravidians in India*, p.84.
122. Law, B.C., *Tribes of Ancient India*, p.334.
123. *Brahma Purāṇa*, Ch.XXVIII.
124. *N.M.*, 2.29.
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127. *Skanda*, VI, 27.
128. *Raghuvaṁśam*, IV.38.
129. *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, XIV.7.
130. *H.O.*, I, p.43.
131. *Ibid.*, p.46 and *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, IV.1, 170.
132. *Boddhāyana*, I, 30-31.
133. *Arthaśāstra*, II, 2.20.
134. *Mbh.*, Vana Parva, CXIV, 4.
135. *Mārkaṇḍeya*, II, 39, 9.
136. Ganguly, D.K., *H.G.D.H.O.*, p.8 and fn.22.
137. *Mbh.*, I, 215, 7820.
138. *Ibid.*, Vana, 114.3.
139. *Ibid.*, Vana, 114.4; *Dāru Devatā*, p.15; *C.J.*, p.1; *S.G.A.M.I.*, p.138.
140. Mbh., Vana, CXIV, 10096-10107; *Kūrma Purāṇa*, II, XXXIX, 19; *C.A.G.I.*, pp.734-35.
141. Pargiter, F.E., *Dynasties in the Kali Age*, pp.25-26.
142. *Uttaradhyayana Sūtra*, XXI, 1-4.
143. Ganguly, D.K., *H.G.D.H.O.*, p.4 and p.5; *Rock Edict*, XIII of Aśoka.
144. Mahapatra, K.N., *Khāraveḷa*, pp.34-37; *C.A.G.I.*, p.438.
145. McCrindle, John W., *Ancient India* as Described in Classical Literature, p.144.
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148. *Raghuvaṁśam*, IV, 38 : "Utkalādarśita-pathaḥ kaliṅgābhimukho yayan"
149. *Ibid.*, IV, 43 : "Śrīyaṁ mahendranāthasya jahāra na tu medinīm"
150. *Ibid.*, IV, 39; VI, 54.
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153. *Raghuvaṁśam*, XII, 9.
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155. *E.I.*, XXX, p.112ff and *S.H.C.O.*, p.34.
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157. *C.A.G.I.*, 1979 edn., p.435.
158. vide Nagari Copper-plates, *E.I.*, XXVIII, p.235ff.
159. *S.G.A.M.I.*, p.84, 74; Śakti Saṅgama Tantra, Paṭala 8, Book III, Ch.VII.
160. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol.III, pp.49-53.
161. *S.H.C.O.*, p.35.

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164. Majumdar, B.C., *Orissa in the Making*, pp.172, 187, 194.
165. Basak, R.G., *History of North Eastern India*, Calcutta, 1967, p.161; *J.B.O.R.S.*, XIV, p.145.
166. *J.A.H.R.S.*, VI, pp.201 and 203.
167. *I.H.Q.*, VIII, p.29.
168. Ganguly, D.K., *H.G.D.H.O.*, p.15.
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172. *S.H.C.O.*, p.36.
173. *E.I.*, III, p.327.
174. Ganguly, D.K., *H.G.D.H.O.*, p.16.
175. Atharva Veda Pariśiṣṭa, Ch.56.
176. *Vāyu*, V, I, 45.133; *Brahmāṇḍa*, V, I, 2.16.64; *Matsya*, 113.53; *Mārkaṇḍeya*, 57.54; *Vāmana*, 13.55.
177. Ganguly, D.K., *H.G.D.H.O.*, p.38; Bhandarkar, D.R., Aśoka, pp.46-47,
First Rock Edict mentions - "Toṣaliyaṁ mahāmāta nagaraviyahālaka"
Second Rock Edict mentions - "Toṣaliyaṁ kumāle mahāmāta ca"
178. Mujumdar, R.C., *The Classical Accounts of India*, Calcutta, 1960, p.351ff.
179. Mitra, R.L., *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, p.90;
Bagchi, P.C., *Pre-Āryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, pp.70 and 176.
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188. *Ibid.*
189. *E.I.*, XV, 1-3; IX, 286-287.
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192. *Ibid.*, p.202.
193. *S.H.C.O.*, p.38.
194. *S.G.A.M.I.*, 1971 edn., p.174.
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200. *O.I.*, Part I, 1977 edn., p.64.
201. *Ibid.*
202. *Ibid.*, p.58.
203. *Indian History Congress*, 1949, pp.101-104 quoted in *O.I.*, Part I, 1977 edn., p.58.
204. Ganguly, D.K., *H.G.D.H.O.*, p.41.
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212. *O.I.*, Part I, p.59.
213. *Ibid.*
214. *Ibid.*, p.4.
215. *N.M.*, 2.28b : "Oḍradeśoasti vikhyāto nānātīrtha vibhūṣitaḥ//"
216. *N.M.*, Ch.1.
217. *N.M.*, 2.140a : "Avantīnagarastaiśca cacāra nīlabhūdharam/"
The Nīlādri-Mahodayam also refers to Avantī, as a City in Mālava and mentions that Indradyumna was the King of Mālava - *N.M.* (2.13a); (2.56a).
218. *N.M.*, 1.19b : "Gadākṣetrepi tāṁ devīṁ virajāṁ taṭavāsinīm//"
219. *N.M.*, 3.4a : "Ekāmra vipinanāma kṣetraṁ parama pāvanam/"
220. *N.M.*, 2.152b: "Carcikāṁ tāṁ mahāviṣṇoḥ śaktiṁ ca parilokaya//"
221. *N.M.*, 1.22a : "Arkakṣetre pavitresmin candrabhāgā nadī jale/"
222. *N.M.*, 2.29a : "Tasminnāste mahākṣetraṁ pavitraṁ puruṣottamam/"
223. *N.M.*, 2.155a : "Etat saṅgamadeśe ca cakratīrthaṁ supāvanam/"
224. *N.M.*, 1.19 :
"Ye vai vaitaraṇī tīre snātvā bhaktisusaṁ yataḥ/
Gadākṣetrepi tāṁ devīṁ virajāṁ taṭavāsinīm//"
225. *Mbh.*, Vanaparvan, XXCV.6 :
"Tato vaitaraṇīṁ gatvā sarvapāda pramocanīm/
Virajā-tīrtham-āsādya virājate yathāśaśī//"
226. Mitra, R.L., Buddha Gayā, Ch.1, pp.10-20.

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228. *N.M.*, 5.8b : "Virajā maṇḍale kṣetre tiṣṭhantaṁ gālavaṁ nṛpam//"

229. *N.M.*, 5.6b : "..... mādhavo viprā gālavena pratiṣṭhitaḥ//"

230. *N.M.*, 2.140b : "Uttaraṁ tīramāsādya mahānadyā manoramam//"

231. *N.M.*, 2.152b : "Carcikāṁ tāṁ mahāviṣṇoḥ śaktiṁ parilokaya//"

232. *N.M.*, 2.155a : "Etatsaṅgamadeśe ca cakratīrthaṁ supāvanam/"

233. Das, S.N., *Jagannātha Mandir O Jagannātha Tattva*, p.260.

234. N.M., 3.4a : "Ekāmra vipina nāma kṣetraṁ parama pāvanam/"

235. *Skanda, Utkal Khaṇḍa*, 12.95, 97; *L.V.*, pp.147-149.

236. Mahapatra, K.N., *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts of Orissa*, Vol.III, Purāṇa Manuscripts, pp.XXXIV - XXXVI.

237. Brahmeśvara Temple Inscription, vide *J.R.A.S.*, Vol.XIII, p.70.
Liṅgarāja Temple Inscription, vide *I.O.*, Vol.III, Part II, p.210.
Ananta Vāsudeva Temple Inscription, vide *O.H.R.J.*, Vol.I, pp.282-284.

238. *Garuḍa*, 1.81.11, 1.81.21; *Brahma Purāṇa*, quoted in Khāravela, p.37 :
"Ekāmra bṛkṣa tatrāsit.....kṣetra mekāmrakamiti śrutam"

239. *N.M.*, 2.20a : "Tatra caikāmravipine nīlakaṇṭham...../"
N.M., 1.21a : ".....dṛṣṭva taṁ śivamuttamam/"
N.M., 3.5b : "..... varttate sa sadāśivaḥ//"

240. *N.M.*, 2.157 :
"Ekāmra vipine viprāḥ sarvapāpa vimocane/
Yatrāste koṭiliṅgeśaḥ śeṣaśāyī tathacyutaḥ//"

241. *N.M.*, 3.7 :
"Tīrthavinduhrade snātvā tvananta puruṣottamam/
Liṅgaṁ kāśīpateḥ śīghraṁ paśya bhūpaśiromaṇe//"

242. *Kapila Saṁhitā*, Ch.XI,
"Lavaṇasy - oḍadeś - tīre nīla-śail - ottamo nagaḥ/
Tad - uttara-syāṁ vikhyātaṁ - ekāmra kaṁ prabho//"

243. *Svarṇādri Mahodayam*, p.3 and 104; *H.G.D.H.O.*, p.28-29 and fn. 144.

244. *N.M.*, 3.5b : "Puruṣottamasīmānte varttate...../"

245. *Ekāmra Candrikā*, pp.28, 29, 37, 38, 41, 49, 50, 58-65, 118-121.
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247. *N.M.*, 3.12b : "Vilveśvarasya paryantaṁ kapoteśvarata statha//"
N.M., 3.15a : "Tato vilveśvarasyāsya kapoteśasya ca dvijāḥ/"

248. *N.M.*, 3.21 :
"Pūjayitvā sa bhagavān kṛṣṇaḥ stutvā maheśvaram/
Nivāraṇāya duṣṭānāṁ stāpayamāsa taṁ śivam//"

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249. *N.M.*, 3.22-25 : "..... tasamādayaṁ mahādevaḥ kapoteśvara īritaḥ//"

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254. *N.M.*, 1.22 :
"Arkakṣetre pavitre'smin candrabhāgā nadī jale/
Snātvā ye sūryamatyugraṁ paśyanti munipuṅgavā//"

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256. Das, S.N., *Jagannātha Mandira O Jagannātha Tattva*, p.1.

257. *N.M.*, 2.29a : "Tasminnāste mahākṣetraṁ pavitraṁ puruṣottamam/"

258. *N.M.*, 2.29b : "Tatra nīlācale ramye mādhavo nīlasundaraḥ//"

259. *N.M.*, 2.133a : "..... varttate nīlabhūdharaḥ/"

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261. *Kapila Saṁhitā*, Ch.III,
"Vārāṇasyāḥ samam'asti kṣetram'ekāmra-kānanam/
Puruṣ'akhya-samaṁ kṣetraṁ nāsti trailokya-maṇḍale//"
Kapila Saṁhitā, Ch.V,
"Sarveṣāṁ'api kṣetrāṇāṁ rājā śrī puruṣottamaḥ/
Sarveṣāṁ'api devānāṁ rājā śrī puruṣottamaḥ//"

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264. *N.M.*, 2.28b-29a :
"Oḍradeśo'asti vikhyāto nānātīrtha vibhūṣitaḥ//
Tasminnāste mahākṣetraṁ pavitraṁ puruṣottamam/"

265. *N.M.*, 1.15 :
"Ṛṣikulyāṁ samāsādya yāvatvaitaraṇī nadī/
Tāvat kṣetrasya māhātmyaṁ vartate..../"

266. *N.M.*, 1.16 :
"Samudrasyottaraṁ tīraṁ mahānadyāstu dakṣiṇam/
Taṭamārabhya tat kṣetraṁ...../"

267. *N.M.*, 2.133a : "Samudrasyottara tīre vartate nīlabhūdharaḥ/"

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269. *N.M.*, 2.31a : "Tasya paścimabhāge'api nāmnā śavaradvīpakaḥ/"
N.M., 2.50b : "..... śavaradvīpa kānane//"

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274. *N.M.*, 2.144a : "Paścimasyāṁ deśi sreṣṭho vindhyonāma girirnṛpa/"

275. *N.M.*, 6.81a : "Sindhukūle ca nīlādrau varttate...../"

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283. *N.M.*, 2.29b : "Tatra nīlācale ramye mādhavo nīlasundaraḥ//"

284. *N.M.*, 1.1 :
"Ekadā naimiṣaraṇye puṇye sarva sukhaprade/
Nānā tīrthasamāyukte nānā gulmamanorame//"

285. *N.M.*, 1.20 :
"Dṛṣṭvā te manujā yogyāścaikāmra vanalokane/
Tatra caikāmravipine nīlakaṇṭhaṁ munīśvaraḥ//"

286. *N.M.*, 2.50b : "Śanaiḥ śanairviveśātha śavaradvīpa kānane//"

287. *N.M.*, 1.7 :
"Sūtastathāpi saṁprāptastatra śiṣyagaṇairyutaḥ/
Taṁ dṛṣṭvā paramaprītāḥ śaunakādyāstapasvinaḥ//"

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297. *N.M.*, 2.46b : "Taṁ vidyāpatināmānaṁ rājā prāsthāpayaddvījāḥ//"

298. *N.M.*, 2.50b : "..... śavaradvīpa kānane//"
N.M., 2.51a : "Taṁ dṛṣṭvā śavaraśreṣṭho viśvāvasuranuttamaḥ/"

299. *N.M.*, 1.16a : "Samudrasyottaraṁ tīraṁ mahānadyāstu dakṣinam/"

300. *N.M.*, 2.149a : "Tasmātpuṇyatamā bhūpanadī citrotpalābhidhā/"

301. *N.M.*, 1.15a : "Ṛṣikulyāṁ samāsādya yāvadvaitaraṇī nadī/"

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303. *N.M.*, 1.22a : "Arkakṣetre pavitre'smin candrabhāgā nadījale/"

304. *N.M.*, 3.11b : "Nīlācalasamīpaṁ ca yatraste bhārgavī nadī//"

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305. *N.M.*, 2.144-145a :
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Varttate cātra vai brahmāviṣṇupāda dvayaṁ puraḥ//
Sthāpayitvārccayattasmāt parvatānnirgatāpyasau/"

306. *N.M.*, 2.145b : "Mahānadīti vikhyātā pūrvasāgaragāminī//"

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"Tasmāt puṇyātamā bhūpa nadī citrotpalābhidhā/
Snānaṁ ye kurvate martyā bhaktyāsyā nirmale jale//"

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"Ṛṣikulyāṁ samāsādya yāvadvaitaraṇī nadī/
Tāvat kṣetrasya māhātmyaṁ varttate muni puṅgavāḥ//"

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320. *N.M.*, 3.7b : "Tato nīlācalaṁ sarve gamiṣyāmo'vilamvitaḥ//"

321. *N.M.*, 1.58a : "Mārkaṇḍayahrado viprāh pāvanastena nirmitaḥ/"

322. *N.M.*, 3.97b : "Indradyumna iti khyātaḥ khātaḥ paramapāvanaḥ//"

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324. *N.M.*, 3.97c : "Tatratīrthe naraḥ snātvā santarpya pitṛdevatāḥ//"

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APPENDIX - I

THE DEITIES AND THE PLACES OF PURUṢOTTAMA-KṢETRA AS RECORDED IN THE NĪLĀDRI-MAHODAYAM

Puruṣottama-Kṣetra is famous for Lord Jagannātha. The temple of Jagannātha stands on the hill 'Nīlādri'. It is one of the greatest monuments in India. The exact geographical situation of the shrine is Lat.19°18 17, Long. 85°51 39.[1] In the Baḍa-deul, Jagannātha, along with his brother Balabhadra, also called Baḍa Ṭhākura and sister Subhadrā are enthroned on the Ratnavedī which is a throne of chlorite, about five feet in height. In addition to these wooden images, there are miniature metal images of Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī and the Sudarśana Cakra.

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* in its first chapter (Adhyāya) depicts a few deities and places of the *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra*.[2] Some of them are located in the compound of Jagannātha-temple and others lay beyond it. In addition to the description of the Māhātmyas of Lord Jagannātha, the purāṇa refers to the deities Lakṣmī, Nṛsiṁha, Narakeśarī, Hiraṇyakaśyapu, Vimaḷā, Kaḷpapādapa, Maheśvara, Yameśvara, Arddhāṁśinī, Hari, Mārkaṇḍeya, Nīlamādhava, Marīcikā, Caṇḍarūpiṇī, Cāmuṇḍā, Kāḷikā, Śiva, Maṅgaḷā, Gaṇeśa, Rudra, Sarva Maṅgaḷā, Nīḷakaṇṭha, Kṣetrapāḷa and Kapāḷamocana. The places mentioned in the purāṇa are Rohiṇī-Kuṇḍa[3], Śveta Gaṅgā[4], the sea,[5] the Mārkaṇḍeya tank[6], the Indradyumna tank[7], the Cakra Tīrtha,[8] and the Maṇikaraṇikā Tīrtha.[9] The Purāṇakāra describes the Vaṭavṛkṣa resembling the Viṣṇu himself[10] and locates the Caṇḍarūpiṇī in the compound of Yameśvara which stands on the sea-shore.[11]

The text of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* speaks of different tīrthas of *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra*[12] though their number varies from time to time. A tīrtha is essentially a sacred place, where a devotee takes his bath.[13] This implies that only the sacred tanks and the seas can be taken for tīrthas. During the age of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam,* the list of these tīrthas comprised Rohiṇī-Kuṇḍa, Śveta Gaṅgā, Indradyumna tank, Mārkaṇḍeya tank, the sea, the Cakra Tīrtha and the Maṇikarṇikā Tīrtha. The first five tīrthas command wide recognition as the 'Pañca Tīrtha'. But sometimes the Cakra Tīrtha and the Maṇikarṇikā Tīrtha are also included in the list to account for the 'Pañca Tīrtha'.

The *Brahma-Purāṇa* includes Markaṇḍeya tank, Jagannātha, Balabhadra, the sea and the Indradyumna tank in the list of Pañca Tīrtha.[14] *Jagannātha Caritāmṛta*, accepting the list of *Brahma-Purāṇa*, suggests that 'two gods and three Tīrthas' give rise to the Pañca Tīrthas.[15] But the account of these tīrthas given in '*Smṛti Darpaṇa*' of Haladhara is more authentic. It includes Mārkaṇḍeya tank, Śveta Gaṅgā, Rohiṇī-Kuṇḍa, the sea and the Indradyumna tank in the list.[16] Obviously, this list excludes the names of the gods since the bath in tīrthas is generally followed by the 'darśanas' of the gods nearby. The gods of the above five tīrthas are Mārkaṇḍeśvara, Śveta Mādhava, Jagannātha, Cakra Nārāyaṇa and Nṛsiṁha respectively. However, the present day belief places the Mārkaṇḍeya tank, Śveta Gaṅgā, Maṇikarṇikā, the sea and the Indradyumna tank in the list of the five tīrthas. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* refers to Śvetarūpadhara Śiva[17] near Śveta Gaṅgā.

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The Pañca Mahādeva worship is prevalent in the *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra*. These five gods are Lokanātha, Mārkaṇḍeśvara, Yameśvara, Kapāḷamocana and Nīḷakaṇṭha.[18] The later four Mahādevas[19] are found mentioned in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* whereas no reference is made for Lokanātha. According to this purāṇa, Nīḷakaṇṭha is present at the end part of the *Śaṁkha-Kṣetra*. However, the temple of Nīḷakaṇṭheśvara is now situated on the bank of Indradyumna tank. As mentioned earlier, the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* locates the temple of Yameśvara on the sea-shore and the Mārkaṇḍeśvara near the tank Mārkaṇḍa. The temple of Kapāḷamocana is situated near the south-door of the Baḍa-deula. This spot lies in the second-loop of the Śaṁkha.[20] The Lokanātha-temple is present at a distance of two miles to the west from the Jagannātha-temple. The moving-images of these five Mahādevas accompany the image of Madanamohana in Candana Yātrā. It is also said that Lokanātha is the guard of Śrī Jagannātha's store.

The above descriptions of deities and places as given in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* adds to our geographical knowledge about Puri as well as throws light on the geography of the Oḍra country. Each of the places of *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra* yields rich antiquities of historical interest which fascinates scholars from far and near. But unfortunately the truth still remains under veil.

After knowing the situation of the Jagannātha-temple during the time of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* (14th century A.D.), we are now interested to survey the present-day position of it.

The temple of Jagannātha is a suit of four temples, comprising the main temple or Vimāna, Jagamohana, Nāṭa Maṇḍapa and Bhoga Maṇḍapa. The presence of an audience hall (Jagamohana), a dancing hall (Nāṭa Maṇḍapa) and a dining hall (Bhoga Maṇḍapa) shows a Pañcaratha style of its construction. The Vimāna is the highest of all the temples. It is of Vairāja Class. Its area is 80x80 square feet and height is 2148 feet from the ground level.[21] The temples of Vāmana, Nṛsiṁha and Varāha are well linked with this Vimāna. Other figures like Kāliyadamana, Nārāyaṇa on the shoulder of Garuḍa, Lion over a Crouchant, Elephant (Gajasiṁha), Nṛsiṁha with Lakṣmī flanked by two dvārapālas, etc. are seen on the Vimāna. Above the Vimāna the famous Nīlacakra is placed.

The Jagamohana has been constructed on a place of 63 feet high. Its height is 100 feet from the floor of Kūrmabeḍhā. The length and breadth of Jagamohana is 80 feet each. This temple has three doors. The southern door is facing towards Mukti Maṇḍapa and the northern door is entering into Bhaṇḍāra Ghara (store room). The eastern door is called the Jaya-Vijaya door whose way is the Nāṭa Mandira. The roof of the Nāṭa Mandira is supported by sixteen pillars. Each pillar has been decorated with the carvation of different images of deities on it. They are Gaṇeśa, ŚrīKṛṣṇa, Mahāvīra, Pañcamukhī-Hanumāna, Sugrīva, Gāyatrī, Vibhīṣaṇa, Cakra Nārāyaṇa, Vimaḷā, Caitanya, Nṛsiṁha, Dakṣiṇa Kāḷī, Śītaḷā and Maṅgaḷā. The Garuḍa Stambha (Pillar for Garuḍa) stands near the Bhoga Maṇḍapa. The incarnations of Viṣṇu (Jagannātha) and the episode of Jagannātha and Balabhadra's Kāñcī invasion have been carved on the walls of Bhoga Maṇḍapa and Nāṭa Maṇḍapa. The sculpture of Durgā Mādhava has been engraved on the Bhoga Maṇḍapa at its northern side. Here Jagannātha is shown alongwith Śiva and Durgā.

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The temple of Jagannātha has four gates both in outer and inner walls. The main entrance is called Siṁhadvāra or the 'Lion's gate' which is the symbol of strength. The southern gate is the next important one where the symbol of a horse showing the military prowess of the king is placed. The western gate is called Vyaghradvāra or the 'tiger gate' which signifies energy and the northern one is called Hastidvāra or the 'elephant gate' which indicates prosperity. In almost all the gates, there are small images of Śiva, Viṣṇu, Hanumāna, Durgā and Nṛsiṁha.

A beautiful pillar consisting the image of the Sun-god on it stands in front of the Siṁhadvāra. This pillar is known as Aruṇa Stambha which was brought here from Koṇārka by the Marahaṭṭās.[22] According to Pandit S.N. Das, the Aruṇa Stambha was brought here from Koṇārka by Divyasiṁhadeva in the last part of the 18th century A.D., during the time of Marahaṭṭās.[23] The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* does not refer to this famous pillar. Obviously, the purāṇa was composed earlier to the installation of Aruṇa Stambha in front of the Siṁhadvāra.

The images of Patitapāvana, Hanumāna, Gaṇeśa, Kāśi-Viśvanātha and Nṛsiṁha are present at the right hand side of the Siṁhadvāra. After crossing the Siṁhadvāra, one gets into Bāiśipāhāca (22 steps). Actually, 20 steps are found. There are two walls on the two sides of Bāiśipāhāca; one is to the south and the other is to the north.

The outermost stone-wall surrounding the whole temple-area is called Meghanāda Pācerī and the great wall surrounding the Baḍa-deula is named as Kūrma Pācerī. From the Baḍa Dāṇḍa, one can easily see the Meghanāda Pācerī and then entering through the Siṁhadvāra one reaches the Kūrma Pācerī after climbing the Bāiśipāhāca. The area inbetween the two walls (Meghanāda Pācerī and Kūrma Pācerī) is knwon as the outer compound and the place enclosed by the Kūrma Pācerī is called Kūrma Veḍhā or inner compound. This Kūrma Veḍhā was built by the King Puruṣottamadeva in the year 1470 A.D.[24] The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* does not refer to the Kūrma Pācerī. Evidently, this purāṇa was composed before 1470 A.D.

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4. *N.M.*, 1.44b : "Etaddakṣiṇapārśve'pi sā gaṅgā lokapāvinī//"
5. *N.M.*, 1.25a : "Samudrodakasaṁgupta śrīmacchaṅkodaraṁ śubham/"
6. *N.M.*, 1.58a : "Mārkaṇḍeya hrado viprāḥ pāvanastena nirmitaḥ/"
7. N.M., 3.96-97 :
   "Alaṁkṛtāśca...../
   Aśvamedhāvasāne'pi...../"
8. *N.M.*, 2.155a : "Etatsaṅgamadeśe ca cakratīrthaṁ supāvanam/"
9. *N.M.*, 1.37b : "Tṛtīyā varttataḥ śrīmān tīrtho'sti maṇikarṇikā//"
10. *N.M.*, 1.30a : "Uttara kalpavṛkṣo'sti sākṣādviṣṇu svarūpabhāk/"
11. *N.M.*, 1.39a : "Samudrasya tate ramye yameśvara itīritaḥ/"
    N.M., 1.41a : "Yameśvarasya catvarermadhye'sti caṇḍarūpiṇī/"
12. *N.M.*, 1.59b : "Etādṛsaṁ mahākṣetraṁ nānātīrtha samanvitam//"
13. *P.M.*, 32.31 : "Tataḥ pañcasu tīrthesu snātvā....."

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14. *Brahma Purāṇa* -
"Mārkaṇḍeya vaṭakṛṣṇo roughiṇeyā mahodadhiḥ/
Indradyumna saraścaiva pañca-tīrtha vidhi smṛtaḥ//"
15. *Jagannātha Caritāmṛta*, pp.78 -
"Dvau devau triṇi tīrthāni nīlācala nivāsainau/
Pañca tīrthamidaṁ sarvaṁ mahāpātaka nāśanaṁ//"
16. *Smṛti Darpaṇa*, p.5 -
"Mārkaṇḍeya-vaṭekṛṣṇe rohiṇyāṁ ca mahodadhau/
Indradyumna sareḥ snātvā punarjanma na vidyate//"
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"Vaṭasya vāyukoṇe'pi mārkaṇḍeyo mahātapāḥ/
Liṅgarūpī svayaṁ bhūtvā varttate puruṣottame//"
N.M., 1.38 :
"Kapāḷamocano nāma tatsamīpe maheśvaraḥ/
Paśyatāṁ juṣatāṁ vāpi brahmahatyādipāpahā//"
N.M., 1.54b : "Kapāḷamocano yāvadyāvadarddhāśinī dvijāḥ//"
N.M., 1.55b : "Nīḷakaṇṭhastu śaṅkāgre varttate sarvamaṅgaḷā//"
N.M., 3.27a : "Vāmacakṣurbhujaspando jāto rājño muhurmuhuḥ/"
20. Visualized as a conch, the region of Srī-Kṣetra is called Śaṁkha-Kṣetra, i.e., the area looks like the shape of a Śaṁkha.
21. Ganguli, M.M., *Orissa and Her Remains*, p.417.
22. Singh, Jagabandhu, Prācina Utkala, pp.472-473.
23. Das, S.N., *Jagannātha Mandira O Jagannātha Tattva*, p.232.
24. *Ibid.*, p.240.

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CHAPTER - 4

SOCIO-CULTURAL REFERENCE IN NĪLĀDRI-MAHODAYAM

The institution of Jagannātha influences the social-life of the people of Orissa. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam,* though primarily a purāṇa of Jagannātha-tattva and Jagannātha Cult, presents a fairly comprehensive picture of the society of its time. A deep and careful study of this purāṇa opens out many striking features of the-then society, in its social, political, economic and cultural aspects. A society, being dynamic in nature, is the mirror of the civilization. The contemporary civilization is clearly enlightened in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* with sufficient references to clan, varṇa, kingship, food and drinks, dress and ornaments, customs and rituals, science and learning and above all the superstitions and the social etiquette.

The society figured in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* mainly comprised of two categories of people - the kings and the subjects. Both the classes were helpful to each other. The people were generally pious and courteous. They were dutiful and obedient. The life in the society was diversified with such activities as "srauta, smārta, prāyaścita and tīrtha." In his relation to the rest of society, each individual laid stress upon his duties - his dharma. The society was practically based on realistic idealism. The people however, had various skills and accordingly they were known as administrators, agriculturists, physicians, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, carpenters, businessmen, dancers, musicians, educationalists, fore-tellers and magicians, etc. There also flourished some people having bad qualities. Our purāṇa refers to one kind of such people and calls them 'Caṇḍālas'.[1] These people formed the lowest strata of the society.

Clan

Informations regarding the vaṁśa or clan are included in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam.* The family and the clan are the foundations of a society. Every large or small organisation such as clan or family influences the whole society in innumerable ways and its changes creates reverberations through the whole structure of the society. Father, mother, son, daughter, grand-son and grand-daughter, etc., are units of a family. Our purāṇa refers to putras and pautras (sons and grand-sons)[2] and mentions the enlargement of a vaṁśa by hearing the Smaravīja Mantra recited in the Jagannātha-temple.[3] Brahmā, in his own mouth has declared that the King Indradyumna is his fifth generation.[4] Thus the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* conceives the theory of generations and clans as found in the purāṇas.

Varṇa

In the early Ṛgvedic period, the Āryas and the Anāryas, Dāsas or Dasyus were the two distinct classes in the society. They were sharply distinguished from each other in their language, religion and in several other respects. There were ethnical and physiognomical differences; the Dasyus were dark-skinned where as the Āryas were fair. Thus, the concept of varṇa originated in the very remote period of *Veda.* Due to the complexity of life, the classes were gradually springing up in the Āryan society. The Avesta shows that in the Indo-Iranian period, the Āryan

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society was divided into four classes - priests, warriors, farmers and artisans.[5] But the Indo-Āryans were divided into three classes among themselves - Brāhman, Rājanya and Viś in the earlier age, and Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya and Vaiśya in later times. The Anāryas who were by this time almost completely subjugated were also included in the varṇa-scheme and formed the fourth class, the Śūdras.[6] The names of the four varṇas, Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra are expressly mentioned with their special characteristics in the famous Ṛgvedic Puruṣa-Sūkta.[7] In the age of the later *Saṁhitās, Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads* and purāṇas, the classes continued to be fluid. The four-fold division of the society into the Brāhmaṇas, the Kṣatriyas, the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras has become fully established by the time of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*,[8] though the principle in determining a varṇa became different from that of the Vedic period. Originally, these varṇas were formulated on the basis of Karma (action) and not by Janma (birth). But the principle of heredity received greater and greater recognition in the age of the later *Saṁhitās, Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads* and purāṇas. Our purāṇa mentions heredity[9] as the main principle in determining the varṇa of an individual. The rights and privileges of the different varṇas in the society had by that time been distinctly laid down and the people of a particular varṇa followed the Sva-dharma as one's duty.

Among the four varṇas, the Brāhmaṇas, the Kṣatriyas, the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras; the gradation of each preceding one considered higher than the one following. Except the Brāhmaṇas, the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* restricts other three varṇas to touch the deity or its Naivedya and prescribes 'Mahāsnānas' of the deity touched by Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra.[10] The purāṇa mentions twice, thrice and four-times 'Mahāsnānas' for Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra-touch respectively.[11] Thus, the Brāhmaṇas were considered worthy of highest respect in the society and the Śūdras were the people of lowest class. It is a remarkable fact to note here that the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* finds no difference among the animals, the birds and the people of the society while taking Mahāprasāda (Bhoga) of Lord Jagannātha.[12] This process promotes brotherhood in the society without considerations of their caste and creed.

Varṇa-Saṁkara

The term, Varṇa-Saṁkara means to the various mixed-castes that emerged in the society due to the 'Anuloma' and 'Pratiloma' kinds of marriages.[13] To the best of our knowledge, there is no occurrence of Varṇa-Saṁkara in the Vedic literature, though many instances of inter-caste marriages[14] can be cited from it. This is because, the varṇa was determined by the duty discharged by one individual. In the *Dharma-Śāstra* works there is frequent occurrence of the term 'Varṇa-Saṁkara' in connection with castes and sub-castes.[15] *Bhagavad Gītā* also uses the term '*Saṁkara*' (*Saṁkaraḥ narakāḥ eva kuḷaghnānāṁ kuḷasya ca*, etc.). Manu[16] illustrates the various Saṁkara-jatis originated in the 'Anuloma' kind of marriage. The *Dharma-Śāstra* works generally relate the term 'Varṇa-Saṁkara' to the promotion of social relations among the four varṇas. However, the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* does not refer directly to the ideas of Varṇa-Saṁkara, but includes the Mlecchas[17] along with the people of the society. In some works, the Mlecchas are also considered as products of Varṇa-Saṁkara.[18]

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The Brāhmaṇas

The Brāhmaṇas in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* stood at the head of the varṇa scheme. Being the first class in the society, they were to conserve the ancient ideals, to maintain and develop the ancient rituals, to probe the mysteries of the universe, to investigate the relation between the supreme spirit and the individual soul and above all to preach the realization of the truths. The *Bhagavad Gītā* characterizes the conduct of a Brāhmaṇa by transquality, self-restraint, penance, purity, forgiveness, straight-forwardness, knowledge, wisdom, realization of truth, and faith[19] in fact, the Brāhmaṇas dedicated to everything that was good and righteous. The study of the *Veda* was their primary concern. While introducing a Brāhmaṇa[20] in general, the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* speaks of him as "proficient in the *Veda* and its auxiliaries, in the *Smṛtis, Āgamas, Pañcarātras* and the purāṇas."[21] The zealous devotion with which the Brāhmaṇas applied themselves to the study of the *Veda* qualified them alone to undertake and discharge with efficiency the duty of a priest. Learning the *Vedas*, officiating at sacrifices, receiving the gifts and advising the king in various matters were the main duties of the Brāhmaṇas during the time of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*.

The Brāhmin as an officiating priest at sacrifices figures from the *Ṛgveda* onwards. The instances of the performance of sacrifices by the Brāhmaṇas are abundant in our purāṇa. The purāṇa has provided for us a state of facts about Yajña. The great Aśvamedha-sacrifice arranged by the King Indradyumna was successfully performed by the Brāhmaṇas. The king being pleased with them offered immense gifts, which included the clothes, gold, rice, precious ornaments and also the cows.[22] The Brāhmaṇas were considered the worthiest recipients of dānas and dakṣiṇās. The 'acceptance of gifts' remained their principal means of livelihood. Rich and profuse gifts were granted to them by the kings on various occasions such as sacrifices, coronations, installations of temples, deities and the Rathas. The King Indradyumna gave a lot of dānas to the Brāhmins and fed them well after the installation of the Rathas of Lord Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā.[23] In some cases, the land was also one among the gifts offered to the Brāhmaṇas.[24] Satisfying the Brāhmins with dakṣiṇās was one of the sacred duties of the people.[25] Our purāṇa also frequently refers to half or a part of dakṣiṇā in want of its full amount. It is necessary to add here that in return for their services the Brāhmaṇas did not expect much. But the pūjā goeṣ in vain without any kind of dakṣiṇā.[26] The topic of dāna, however, finds a very elaborate treatment in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* which contains principles and regulations regarding the proper dāna, its kinds and religious efficacies.

In the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, the Brāhmaṇas are seen invariably present in all social and religious functions. The kings and princes cherished their friendship and took pride in doing them service. Perhaps in every kingdom there was a Brāhmaṇa purohita, who very often was also the king's Chief Counsellor.[27] The purohita figures in our purāṇa as an important person in matters of state, as an adviser whose advice was heeded with respect and as one who could represent the king in his absence.[28] The purohita of Indradyumna wielded considerable influence in the matters of state. He advised the king to send his (purohita's) younger brother, Vidyāpati to locate the god Nīlamādhava in Oḍradeśa and the king did accordingly.[29] Thus, he was the co-adjutor and the alter ego of the king.

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The Brāhmaṇas commanded very high respect in the society. They were universally regarded as Bhūsura,[30] Mahīsura[31] or Dharaṇīsura[32] (divinities on the earth). The superiority of a Brāhmaṇa is recognized from the time of the *Ṛgveda* onwards. According to our purāṇa, the god becomes satisfied with the satisfaction of the Brāhmin.[33] The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* states that "oblations go to the gods and the fee to the learned Brāhmins who are the human gods."[34] Some of the *Dharma-Śāstra* works assign to them a status superior to that of the gods. According to Manu, a Brāhmin, learned or not, is a deity.[35] Similar expressions are also occurred in the *Mahābhārata*.[36] But, such theoretical claim that a Brāhmin is superior even to gods are not found in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*. This purāṇa describes that a Brāhmin is just like the Viṣṇu himself.[36A]

This purāṇa refers to the various divisions prevailed among the Brāhmins. The words, dvija[37] and vipra[38] are of very frequent occurrence. Besides, we find the categories, Ācārya, Caruhotā, Pātrahotā, Brahmā and Agniśarmā included in the hierarchy of the Brāhmaṇas.[39] The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam,* in its chapter nine (Navama Adhyāya), vividly explains the lakṣaṇas of Ācārya and Agniśarmā. The following lakṣaṇas were attributed to an Ācārya Brāhmin – "He should not be a limbless person, a widower, or a diseased man. He should be polite and should have 'Bratas' of a 'Tapasvī'. He should have no sexual anxieties and should always be based upon good manner."[40] An Agniśarmā Brāhmin had the following qualities – "He should not take his meal in others house. He should not talk with women and śūdras. He should have Upanayana-Saṁskāra. He should be polite and his manners should be always good."[41] In all festivals and sacrifices, the Agniśarmā represented the king.[42] The Pūjaka Brāhmins were using 'tiḷaka' on the forehead and on their chest. Our purāṇa mentions special shapes to the 'tiḷaka' on forehead and on the chest. The tiḷaka on the forehead was stick-shaped and that on the chest had the shape of lotus-leaf.[43]

Brahma-hatyā (killing one Brāhmin) was one of the most grievous sins. According to *Nīlādri-Mahodayam,* one can be free from such sins if one visits 'Kalpapādapa', 'Kapāḷamocana' and takes 'Nirmālya' of Lord Jagannātha.[44] Falling length-wise in the shade of Ratha frees one from all the sins including Brahma-hatyā.[45]

The Kṣatriyas

In some verses of the *Ṛgveda,* the word Kṣatriya means 'a king or a noble-man'. The word rājanya is found in the *Ṛgveda* only once in the Puruṣa-Sūkta, but in the later Vedic literature it is often used for a man of the royal family.[46] During the time of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam,* the Kṣatriyas were the martial section of the community. The status of a Kṣatriya in the society was next to that of a Brāhmaṇa. Indradyumna, though a king, payed respect to the Brāhmin Vidyāpati.[47] As rulers, the Kṣatriyas were sometimes commanding over the Brāhmins – the King Indradyumna allowed the Brāhmin Vidyāpati to go to Oḍradeśa in search of the deity 'Nīlamādhava'.[48] Our purāṇa hints on the Sūryavaṁśa-origin of the Kṣatriyas by mentioning that the King Indradyumna was born in Sūryavaṁśa.[49] The Kṣatriyas were mainly instructed in the art of war and in the state-politics.

The Kṣatriya-Brāhmin relationship was very close. The Kṣatriyas handled the

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administrative powers of the state where as the Brāhmins were the Chief Counsellors to them. Only Kṣatriyas were considered competent to become rulers and in that capacity they had to ensure a free and due observance of dharma by everyone in the society. Arrangement of sacrifices was the duty of Kṣatriyas, mainly of Kṣatriya-Kings. The performance of sacrifices, on the one hand, brought merit to the arranger and, on the other hand, it offered subsistence to the Brāhmaṇas who depended mainly on the charities given to them by the other varṇas. Thus, the Kṣatriyas and the Brāhmins were intimately related with one another.

The Vaiśyas

In the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam,* the Vaiśyas are often mentioned just to complete the list of the varṇas. From the informations scattered loosely in the purāṇa, it appears that the Vaiśyas were a community engaged in trade and commerce. It is to note that not a single individual belonging to this varṇa has been mentioned by name in the whole of the purāṇa. The Vaiśyas focussed their attention mainly on wealth and profit and formed the basis upon which the other two classes of society, the Brāhmaṇa and the Kṣatriya, rested.

The Śūdras

The *Nīlādri-mahodayam* describes the Śūdras as a varṇa of lowest rank in the society. Their principal duty was to serve the higher three varṇas. The Śūdras were considered as the degraded ones. They were restricted to touch the materials ready for the worship of Lord Jagannātha.[50] They were not allowed to enter into the kitchen of Lord Jagannātha.[51] Such references as the Śūdras studying the *Vedas*, worshipping the deities and performing the sacrifices are not included in our purāṇa. In the *Dharma-Śāstra* works we find many disabilities imposed on Śūdras and the *Mahābhārata* says that they can not own property.[52] According to *Nīlādri-Mahodayam,* their presence at the sacrificial altar was considered contaminating.

The Śabaras

In addition to the varṇas discussed above, the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* mentions the Sabaras and the Yavanas as the other races of the society. There were Śabara-dwellings situated in the west of the *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra.*[53] The text of our purāṇa reveals that the Śabaras lived in the forests. They were hospitable to their quests. They lived on fruits and roots collected from the forest. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* describes that Brāhmin Vidyāpati while searching for the deity Nīlamādhava met with great Śabara Viśvāvasu in the forest of Śabaradvīpa. Viśvāvasu payed respect to Vidyāpati and warmly welcomed him with fruits and roots.[54] The deity Nīlamādhava was worshipped by the Śabara Viśvāvasu in a cave in the forest.[55] This evidence shows that the Śabaras were the real 'Vaiṣṇavas'. They were not untouchables though lived far away from the towns and villages. They worshipped their own deity with all sincerity and devotion but worshipping the gods or goddesses was not their profession. They did not hold any office in the king's court. Evidently, they led their independent life amidst the wild animals in the dense and fearsome forests.[56]

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The Yavanas

The Yavanas were a sect of people living in the contemporary society. They were not allowed to enter into temples or to be present at the sacrificial altar. Even talks relating to them near 'Naivedya' were considered contaminating.[57] Our purāṇa describes in detail the mishappenings to be occurred to the deity, to the king and to the country by the entrance of a Yavana into the temple of Lord Jagannātha.[58] The author of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* warns the king to be alert for this and prescribes Mahāsnāna of the deity if at any time a Yavana enters into the temple.[59]

Sages

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, in its first adhyāya, mentions the sages of the Naimiṣā forest and includes Śaunaka among them. They are also called the Chief of the Munis (Munīsvarāḥ).[60] They had the knowledge of all the tīrthas of the world.[61] This purāṇa presents an account of the dresses worn by the great Munis, which is discussed in the later part of this chapter. They had glowing physique.[62] The sages had their disciples. The great Muni Sūta, once, appeared in the Naimiṣā forest with his disciples.[63]

There is reference to the different categories of sages in our purāṇa, though in a very unsystematic manner. They are Maharṣis,[64] Brahmarṣis,[65] Devarṣis[66] and Rājarṣis.[67] But the frequent mention of the words Ṛṣis,[68] Munis[69] and Tapasvīs[70] occur in connection with the various types of ascetics. Sūta is considered to be the 'Muni-śreṣṭha'.[71] Nārada is mentioned as Devarṣi and the King Indradyumna as Rājarṣi. The Devarṣis were inferior to Brahmarṣis but were superior to Rājarṣis. The Rājarṣis see their people through their (peoples') happiness. Sometimes Maharṣi is also referred to Nārada.[72] *Gītā* mentions by way of analogy that Nārada is the Chief of the Devarṣis.[72A] The purāṇa describes that Indra is a Ṛṣi and Nārada is a Maharṣi.[73] They, by the order of Brahmā, came to visit Dārubrahma.[74]

The sages are often shown in the company of gods, thus elevating their status. Some of them even lived with Devas. In the installation ceremony of Jagannātha, Balabhadra, Subhadrā and Sudarśana in the temple of Lord Jagannātha, we find them included in the party of Brahmā.[75] The purāṇa includes Durvāsā, Bharadvāja, Nārada and Vaśiṣṭha among the sages associated with Brahmā.[76] Mahāmuni Bharadvāja installed the temple-building. Vaśiṣṭha, by the order of Pitāmaha, was in the duty of announcing the installation and the other Ṛṣis[77] were engaged in the duty of enchanting 'svāhā'.

The association of sages with Viṣṇu is also indicated in our purāṇa. Once the god appeared before the King Indradyumna in the shape of 'Jaṭila', who was a Ṛṣi.[78] 'Jaṭila' had round-shaped Jaṭās.[79] He narrated that he himself had seen 'Mādhava' being worshipped in Nīlācala, and he gave Indradyumna a garland of the deity.[80]

According to Āśrama-dharma, the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* also refers to four types of ascetics, viz., Jati, Sanyāsī, Brahmacārī and Vānaprasthā.[81] A Jati is one ascetic who has renounced the world and controlled his passions. One who completely renounces the world and its attachments becomes a Sanyāsī. A Brāhmaṇa in the fourth order of his life is known as a

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Sanyāsī. *Manusmṛti* and *Bhagavad Gītā* describe Sanyāsa as the complete renunciation of the world, its possessions and attachments along with abandonment of temporal.[85] The first order of Āśrama-dharma is the Brahmacarya. A Brahmacārī is one who continues to live with spiritual guide from the investiture with sacred thread and performs the duties pertaining to his order till he takes up gṛhastha-dharma.[82] The various characteristics of Brahmacarya are religious study, study of *Vedas*, self-restraint, celibacy, chastity, abstinence and continence. The third stage of Āśrama-dharma is the Vānaprastha. It comes after the gṛhasthāśrama and when one becomes ready to renounce the comforts of settled life at home, to retire from the world.[83] According to *Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad*, one acquires Vānaprasthāśrama when he gives up all desire for children, desire for possessions and desire for the world.[84] One who leaves the crowded habitation of men becomes a Vānaprastha. He becomes a resident of the forest where he subsists on such wild fruits and roots as the forest may offer him. He castigates the body to purify the soul and practises hard austerities. Thus, a Vānaprastha strictly confines himself to the forest and is known as a hermit.

Our purāṇa hints to the gotras of the Ṛṣis.[86] A Ṛṣi usually selected a pleasant site in the interior of a forest for building his Āśrama. The familiarity of Vadarikāśrama was pointed out in the purāṇa.[87]

There was intimate relationship between the kings and the sages during the age of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*. The rules of conduct and the ideals of morality of the Ṛṣis inspired the king and the clown alike in their behaviour. It is note-worthy, that the king always considered the visit of a sage to the royal court a matter of great pleasure and honour for himself. The king also made arrangements for the reception of a sage when the latter appeared before him. The King Indradyumna warmly received 'Jaṭila' when the Ṛṣi entered into the royal court. The king payed him respect alongwith others present there and honoured him by offering a seat of superiority.[88] The king politely asked him, "kindly order me what service shall I render to you?"[89] The sages on their part were the guardians and promoters of culture and as such they were deeply interested in the peace and progress of the state. The Ṛṣi, 'Jaṭila' narrated the story of Mādhava to the King Indradyumna,[90] who, then made arrangements for a journey to *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra*.[91] The sages had the knowledge of different Yogas. Indradyumna asked Nārada to know about the Jñāna-Yoga, Vairāgya-Yoga and Bhakti-Yoga,[92] etc. Understanding the king's will for Yoga, Nārada explained – "It is too difficult to know about Yoga even if tried for years together. So, listen to the fact which is superior to all Yogas." Saying this Nārada narrated the māhātmya of Nīlamādhava.[93] The great sages had also the knowledge of all religions and tīrthas. Getting Sūta with them, the Ṛṣis of Naimiṣā forest asked him to tell them the holiness of all the tīrthas.[94] The sages were always thinking for the good of all people. Our purāṇa mentions that the Ṛṣis asked Sūta to narrate the tīrthatattva for the benefit of all.[95]

The King and the Kingship

In the traditional concept of the society, Prajā (the subjects) and Rājā (the ruler) were the two principal elements, one might say, polarities. The parables in the Vedic literature

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clearly show that kingship in India arose out of a military necessity. The Vedic theory of the origin of kingship is found in the *Ait.Br.*[96] *Śukra Nīti*[97] describes the king as the Chief of the state, whereas in the *Matsya-Purāṇa*,[98] he (the king) is ascribed to the root of the state. The ancient Hindu political writers however held two theories regarding the origin of kingship which are found narrated in the *Mahābhārata.* Here we find the notion of social contracts.[99] The *Vāyu-Purāṇa* suggests that kingship was a divinely ordained institution.[100] Kauṭilya's *Artha-Śāstra*[101] emphasizes on the political theory of social contract while Manu[102] forwards the divine origin of kings. The *Jātaka* are not mindful of the theory of the king's divinity.[103] The *Rāmāyaṇa* makes no mention of any form of government except the monarchy.[104] In the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, we find the notion of social contracts blended with the theory of divine creation of the king. Our purāṇa describes the king as the head of the state and his associations with gods. The King Indradyumna belonged to the fifth generation of Brahmā.[105] He went to Brahmaloka with Nārada to invite Brahmā in order to install the deities in the temple of Lord Jagannātha.[106]

By the time we reach the period of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, the Varṇa-vyavasthā had become so deeply rooted in India that Kṣatriyas alone were considered fit to become rulers. The King Indradyumna mentioned in our purāṇa had come of a royal family belonged to Sūryavaṁśa.[107] 'The Kṣatriya he (the Creator) commanded', says Manu,[108] 'to protect the people, to bestow gifts, to offer sacrifices, to study the *Vedas*, and to abstain from attaching himself to sensual pleasures'. The last has a comical sound, because it frames the negative precept. A Rājā, who was a Kṣatriya and whose dharma could be summerized as 'to conquer and to protect'.

The king's duty was to protect dharma and the people. Kauṭilya also expresses his views in the same manner.[109] The early Vedic literature recommends that the duty of the king is to protect his subjects. For the protection of 'Dharma', the kings performed sacrifices. Among all the sacrifices, the horse-sacrifice had gained prominence. Therefore, the King Indradyumna performed thousand horse-sacrifices at *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra.* He offered profuse dānas at the end of horse-sacrifices and earned fame.[110]

A king was required to be a supporter and upholder of law. Moreover, an ideal conduct unimpeachable in every respect was demanded of him, for not only the people were prone to follow the 'first citizen' but also because the society believed that evils and mishaps among the people were caused by the wrongs of the ruler. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* presents the character and the conduct of the King Indradyumna very lucidly. He was the most eminent Vaiṣṇava, an ocean in patience, like Purandara in the earth and a house of knowledge and asceticism.[111] He was truthful, virtuous and his behaviour was always good. He was very much conversant with religious law and a staunch follower of justice.[112] To serve his subjects was his dharma. He was a devotee to his parents and a worshipper of the guests. He rendered service to Brāhmins.[113] Above all, the King Indradyumna realized that the state or the kingdom primarily belonged to its people, the king being there not for his personal benefit, but for the prosperity and welfare of the people.

However, we should not expect good qualities from all kings. Some kings were not good and religious. There were kings who were quite indifferent towards their people and the state.

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Such kings were surrounded with pomp and they spent wealth indiscreetly regardless of the well-being of the state. According to *Puruṣottama-Māhātmyam* of *Skanda-Purāṇa,* the bad rulers extracted high revenue from their subjects and sometimes even extorted their personal property.[114] In nut-shell, the state and the people were ruined by the carelessness as well as extravagancy of such rulers. Our purāṇa does not mention the horrors created by mischievous kings.

During the days of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, moral discipline was of utmost importance for the rulers. This is because there were no constitutional checks against the authority of the king. An education of some intensity was recommended for the king's role, and this was no doubt required. According to Manu, the king knows the *Veda* science. He alone deserves the royal authority, the command of armies, the office of a judge and sovereignty over the whole world.[115] Study of the *Veda* along with its auxiliaries and of other sacred scriptures formed a part of Indradyumna's life. In all sorts of knowledge, the King Indradyumna was compared with Vṛhaspati. Besides, he was very much powerful and had better knowledge in conquering the enemies. Our purāṇa also describes that he was the owner of all the six types of riches and thus he was like Indra in power and Kubera in riches.[116]

The Gradation of Kings

The word Rājan[117] is literally derived from the root Rāj (to shine). But, in Hindu polity it is generally associated with the root Rājñ (to please).[118] The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* has very often used the word Rājā for a king, since a king was commonly known as Rājā. By expanding the territory of his kingdom, a king acquired titles of higher order. He was called as Bhūpa, Bhūpati, Bhūbhṛt, Mahīpati, Mahīnātha, Dharaṇīpati and Avanīnātha,[119] etc. Thus, he was considered as the protector of the world. In the hierarchy of kings, Bhūpaśiromaṇi, Samrāṭ, Pṛthivīśvara were found mentioned in our purāṇa to mean the kings chronologically of higher order.[120] When a king controlled a number of states, he was termed as 'Samrāṭ'. The most powerful king was compared with Indra and was known as Rājendra. Above all, the epithet 'Jagatpati' was the supreme of all and was generally used for Gods.[121]

The Kingdom

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* has used the epithet 'Viśāmpati' for King Indradyumna.[122] From the Vedic times, the word 'Viśā' was referred to suggest a political division of the state. A country in the times of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* was variously known as deśa, mahādeśa, janapada, rāṣṭra and rājya.[123] The administrative divisions were called as pura, maṇḍala, viśā and grāma,[124] of which 'grāma' was the smallest unit. For better administration, the kings devided the whole kingdom into smaller units. The capital town was known as pura and the rest of the country was termed as janapada.

King's Counsellors and Administration

'The state polity' had to follow the counsel of councillors. The king's counsellors formed

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an indispensable limb of the body politic. There existed the seven constituents, the so-called saptāṅga of the state organism. These were the king himself, a minister of official class, a capital city, a rural area or inhabited tract, a treasury or revenue administration, an army and at least one foreign ally. Our purāṇa mentions the king (rājā), his kingdom (rājya), the ministers (amātyas), the representatives of the king (pratinidhi), the suddhāntakaraṇas and the four branches of army (*catuḥraṅga vaḷānvīta*).[125] The armed forces were Aśvārohī, Rathārohī, Gajārohī and Padātikas.

The ruler wielding sovereign authority and the central figure in the state was properly guarded against all danger by the king's counsellors, among whom the purohita or family priest of the king was the most influential member. After hearing from Jaṭila, about 'Nīlamādhava' of the *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra*, the King Indradyumna called for his purohita and took his advice.[126] As forwarded by him, the king sent Vidyāpati (the purohita's brother) to locate the deity.[127] Here, Vidyāpati played the dual role of a purohita and a dūta. In fact, he was endowed with all those virtues of a benevolent royal messenger. He located the deity inspite of all difficulties and informed the king. Then, Indradyumna in a meeting of his maṅtripariṣad decided to start journey to Nīlācala and went with sons, grandsons, maṅtrins and Suddhāntakaraṇas, etc.[128] In making all decisions, the king called the meeting of the popular Sabhā, the royal court of justice and he himself presided over it. The king's authority was absolute in all matters. He was therefore expected to be conversant with eighteen Vidyās (branches of knowledge).[129]

As evident from our purāṇa, the ministers of that period were closely associated with the king. They had to assist him not only in the task of administration but also in the transaction of his personal affairs. They determined the king's course of action and guided him in his choice of the four expedients, viz., sāma, dāma, bheda and daṇḍa. Besides these, the *Agni-Purāṇa* mentions three more Upāyas[130] to be adopted by the king for achieving success in his foreign policy. There are Māyā (stratagem), Upekṣā (indifference) and Indrajāla (deceit). An account of the six measures (ṣaḍaguṇya) is also found in the epics and purāṇas. These were the six fold course of action for a king in his foreign policy comprising Sandhi (alliance). Vigraha (war), Yāna (expedition), Āsana (halt), Dvaidhībhāva (duplicity) and Saṁśraya (seeking shelter).[131] The king consulted with the ministers when framing policies relating to the state-administration.[132] Indradyumna expressed his ideas to his amātya[133] before taking a decision for his expedition to Nīlācala.[134] The minister was incharge of the state-treasury (Rājakoṣa) and hence controlled the state finance. Thus, from coronation to cremation and from the seat of justice to the field of battle, the ministers were the king's constant companions. The astrologers were also the important personnel in the king's court. They forecast the future happenings to the state and to the king and prompted strong determinations in the king's administration. While on the way to Nīlamādhava, the left-eye-lids and the left hand of the King Indradyumna trembled again and again.[135] He anticipated some mishappenings to occur. He asked Nārada to know the cause of it. The great foreteller immediately cleared the doubt of the king by saying that they (Indradyumna and his people) would not be able to visit Nīlamādhava, since the deity had hidden himself under the earth.[136] Then, Indradyumna became sad and impatient.[137] But, Nārada advised him to have patience and to arrange thousand

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horse-sacrifices at Nīlācala by which the god would appear in the form of Dārubrahma.[138] So, the king did accordingly and the god appeared in the form of Dāru.

The kings had employed Dvārapālas (door-keepers) in his palace. These people rendered a strong and watchful guard, so that no outsider could enter into the palace without the due permission of the king. They looked to the safety of the king and indirectly of the kingdom. Therefore, an active, faithful and strong man, capable of wielding weapons of different types was appointed to this post.[139] The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* mentions that Maṇikodara was the door-keeper of the court of Brahmā in the Brahmaloka. He did not at first allow Indradyumna to visit Brahmā.[140] But, when Brahmā ordered for the entrance of the king,[141] the door-keeper immediately carried out the order and allowed the king to Brahmaloka.

A king's duty was to provide internal security in his kingdom. He was the guardian of dharma (law) and for efficient and effective administration, the authority had a well-organized system.[142] The soldiers accompanied with Indradyumna in his journey to the *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra.*[143] The four varṇas abided by the righteous course and hence coherence was established among them.

State welfare formed an important duty of a king. The Purāṇakāra of our purāṇa visualizes that under the rule of the King Indradyumna the kingdom was prosperous with wealth[144] and that the people were hale and hearty.

Sabhā

In the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, we find the frequent occurrence of the word Sabhā which was the king's court of justice.[145] Important matters concerning the state were discussed in the sabhā. More extensive kingdoms relied on their Sabhā or Samiti, the assembly that represented local populations. Being a political organisation, the Sabhā advised the king on peace and war. It had obviously an advisory character.

The members of the Sabhā were called Sabhāsad. The council of ministers, the tributary kings, ascetics, people's representatives and the lords of the islands suppposedly participated in the Sabhā. The king was the president of it and presiding over it was his routine work. When required, the king summoned the meeting of the popular Sabhā to ascertain the popular view with regard to measures vitally concerning the welfare of the state. In the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, we notice that the Sabhā was mainly a royal court that decided matters relating to both social and political character. But 'Sabhā' mentioned in the *Ṛgveda* means an 'assembly' of the Vedic Indians as well as the 'hall' where they met in assembly.[146] The 'Sabhā' and the Samīti in the *Saṁhitās* definitely have political rights of discussing and deciding matters of the village and town population. In ancient India, there were corporate organisations bearing the antiquated names pūga, śreṇī and gaṇa. These tribunals referred to local, lay courts of the kings and participated in the task of local administration.[147] In our purāṇa, we do not find any reference to such institutions.

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Food and Drink

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* presents elaborately the items of Bhogas offered to the deities in the temple of Lord Jagannātha. The various ingredients of the different kinds of Bhogas reveal the food habits of the people in the then society, since we generally offer those foods available in the society to our deities.

Our purāṇa speaks of six varieties of food, viz., Bhakṣya (hard food that requires mastication), Bhojya (soft food as may be eaten without mastication), Carvya (foods that require chewing), Lehya (food stuffs which are licked), Peya (fluid food) and Coṣya (preparations which are sucked).[148] The edibles of six tastes (ṣaḍarasa),[149] namely madhura (sweet), amla (sour), lavaṇa (salt), kaṭuka (pungent) tikta (bitter) and kaṣāya (astringent) are referred to.

Cereals

Among cereals, the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* mentions taṇḍula (rice), godhūma (wheat), yava (barley), māṣa (beans or viri), caṇaka (gram), mudga (mugga) and tila (sesamum).[150] Rice seems to have been the staple food grain of the people in that period and was used by them in various forms.[151] The four forms[152] of rice preparations such as anna (boiled rice), lājā (perched rice), pāyasa (rice cooked with milk) and khecarānna (a mixed preparation of rice, grams, sugar, etc.) are mentioned. Besides these, śarkarānna[153] was prepared with ghee and sugar. Different kinds of pūpa, piṣṭaka and modaka were used by the people. Our purāṇa mentions many types of pūpa of various colours.[154] These were prepared from either māṣa or māṣa and rice-flour or wheat flour.[155] A pūpa was in general thicker variety of bread shaped like lotus-leaf.[156] Piṣṭakas (cakes) were prepared from wheat flour and rice-flour mixed with milk and sugar.[157] Offering of modaka prepared from tila to the deities in the Jagannātha temple is specifically mentioned in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*.[158] Various processes of making godhūma-cūrṇa, taṇḍula-cūrṇa and śitā-cūrṇa (flour of barley) were chedana, peṣaṇa, cūrṇana, bhanjana and kuṭṭana.[159] Water was added to the flour for proper mixing.[160] Akṣata (unbroken rice)[160A] were used in various religious performances.

Sugarcane and its Products

As evident from our purāṇa, Īkṣu (sugarcane)[161] and its products Sitā (candied sugar),[162] Śarkarā (sugar),[163] Khaṇḍasāra (made of sugar)[164] were extremely popular. Śarkarā was invariably used by the people in the preparation of cakes and other items made of rice. Śarkarā, milk, lājā and cocoanut together were offered to the deities during Naivedya.[165]

Milk and its Products

Cow's milk was considered very much sacred and formed an important item of Bhoga. Due to its extreme nourishment, people used milk as the chief source of vitamins. Besides, milk and its products such as ghee (ghṛta), curd (dadhi), etc., served as sauce with other food

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preparations.[166] The people also knew to extract butter out of curd by the processes of curdling and churning. Ghee was then prepared from butter and was used in various food preparations.[167] Amikṣā[167A] was considered as an important milk-product in those times. This was prepared by the mixture of boiled and cogulated milk.

Pañcāmṛta

Amṛta, as purely a drink of immortality, is many times mentioned by the *Gītā*.[167B] A mixture of dadhi (curd), dugdha (milk), ghṛta (ghee), madhu (honey) and khaṇḍasāra (made of sugar) formed pañcāmṛta (five Amṛtas). This was offered to the deities during the installation.[168] Our purāṇa mentions the preparation of amṛtakuṇḍa during the time of Naivedya.[169] Another mixture prepared with madhu, gavyaghṛta, dadhi, sitā and water was called as Madhuparka,[170] which was offered to the deities. V.S. Apte considers Madhuparka as a respectful offering made to guests or to the bride-groom on his arrival at the door of the father-in-law.[171] The Madhuparka offered to guests is mentioned in the *Atharva-Veda*.[172]

Fish and Meat

Eating of fish and meat was there in the society during the time of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*. But, the purohita Brāhmin was restricted to take fish and meat. He was a vegetarian.[173] Similarly, fish and meat were not recommended for Brāhmins who worshipped the deities.[174]

Spices

Among spices[175] hiṅgu (the substance prepared from the plant Asa foetida and used especially in seasoning articles of food), Jīraka (cumin-seed), ārdraka (ginger), lavaṅga (clove), marica (pepper) and lavaṇa (salt) were known. The purāṇa mentions the use of karpura (comphor)[176] in the items of food. For the sake of good flavour this was added to different food-preparations.

Fruits and Roots

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* presents a comprehensive picture of the fruits offered to the deities by the people of those times. As stated earlier,[177] the diet of the hermit consisted primarily of fruits, esculent roots and tubers that could be easily procured from the forest. The various fruits mentioned in our purāṇa are plantain (rambhā or kadalī), cocoanut (nārikela), mango (āmra), jack-fruit (panasa), palmyra (tāla), pomegranate (dāḍima), orange (nāgaraṅga or kamalā), jujube (badarī), a sort of cucumber (karkaṭī), the fruits of a kind of birch tree (sṛṅgikā), gubāka fruit and grape (drākṣyā).[178] Among the roots, sweet-potato (kandamūla) was popular.[179] In addition to these, the lotus stalks (jalajaṁ)[180] were also used as food. Pumpkingourd (kuṣmāṇḍa)[181] was well-known among the vegetables. The purāṇa mentions banana[182] very often in items of Bhoga offered to Lord Jagannātha and includes edible leaves[183] as well as herbs in the varieties of food.

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Drinks

As usual water was used as the first and the foremost among all the drinks. In the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, water was variously called as jala, nīra and ambhasā,[184] etc. Water was also mentioned in the purāṇa for bath. Clear and sweet water having fragrance was used for the bath of the deities as well as for drinking-water.[185] Prapānaka (paṇā)[186] was considered as a kind of drink. As described in our purāṇa, one type of prapānaka was prepared by mixing water, milk, wheat flour, perched rice, banana and cocoanut with the juices of mango, jack-fruit and palm-fruit.[187]

Use of Betel (tāmvūla)

There was a custom of giving tāmvūla after food.[188] The purāṇa supplies enough materials for the use of tāmvūla by the people of those times. Tāmvūla was prepared with lavaṅga (clove), elāphala (cardamoms) and karpura (camphor).[189] It was also widely used in the rituals.[190] In the kitchen, the people offered tāmvūla to the goddess Agni during worship.[191] Chewing betel after taking food was the habit of the people.

Kitchen and Cook

The various preparations of food as noticed above would justify the fact that the culinary art was fairly developed in that period. The processes of cooking (pāka-karmaṇī)[192] were known to the people. Food was prepared by the cooks (pākakāra).[193] These people were well conversant with the art of cooking. Our purāṇa restricts people other than the cooks to enter into the kitchen (variously known as pākaśālā, pākamandira).[194] Citing the versions of Brahmā to the King Indradyumna, the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* mentions that no one except the cook should cross even the ways to the kitchen of Viṣṇu (Lord Jagannātha).[195] There were also certain rituals observed in the kitchen before start cooking. The purāṇa, in its chapters seven, forty-two and ninety-one describes in detail the rituals to be performed before, during and after the cooking. The kitchen was usually washed by water mixed with cow-dung.[196] Prayers were offered to the goddess, Lakṣmī before start cooking and to the god, Gaṇeśa for finishing it without any trouble.[197] Above all, the kitchen was viewed as god. To satisfy it, rituals were performed at the end of cooking.[198] Professional cooks were employed in the kitchen of Lord Jagannātha and they were Caruhotā-Brāhmins.[199]

Utensils

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* mentions that the people in those days knew to clean their utensils before cooking.[200] Red coloured pots were fit for cooking food whereas black coloured pots were out of use in the kitchen.[201] The cracked-pots and the pots having holes were unfit for use.[202] The purāṇa also mentions some utensils such as sthālī,[203] kumbha,[204] etc. The pots made out of earth and stone were used for the preparation of food.[205] There were also utensils made of different kinds of metals, viz., copper, silver, brass and gold.[206] These were meant

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for many sorts uses, in the kitchen and in the rituals. The use of kamaṇḍalu and pātrī is also included in the purāṇa.[207]

The prātaḥ (morning), madhyāhna (noon) and sandhyā-pūjā Bhoga offered to Lord Jagannātha, indicate that the people in the-then society had the habit of taking their meals three times a day in the morning, in the noon and in the evening.[208] The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* also mentions the practice of grand feasts being generally arranged at the time of sacrifices. The King Indradyumna gave anna-bhojana at the end of horse-sacrifice and after the installation ceremony of the chariot.[209]

Dress and Ornaments

Long since in the history of mankind dress got its recognition for an important identification of the civilized society. The precious informations regarding the clothing, as obtained from the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, forms a necessary part of the description which tells us about the civilized living. The contribution to the history of dress, as indicated by the purāṇa, occurs in its many passages and in the shape of garments worn by the deities, Ṛṣis and Brāhmins, etc.

The reference to the Munis suggests that the ascetics were accustomed to wear skin-garments.[210] A Muni usually worn a small strip of cloth (kaupīna)[211] over the privities to avoid nudity. Regarding their hair-dressing, our purāṇa mentions that the Munis had long hair which was braided and coiled (jaṭā maṇḍala)[212] on the head.

The type of dresses used by the people are indicated by the informations occurred in our purāṇa. They chose variety of dresses and ornaments to put on.[213] The dress consisted of two oblong pieces of cloth, upper and lower garments.[214] The female-dress was different from the male-dress. Men worn fine clothes perhaps round the lions from the waist below and the uttarīya might have been used to cover the neck and the shoulders.[215] The head was covered with fine cloth[216] and especially the king's representative always covered his head with cloth.[217] The information about silken garments indicates that there was also the use of Chinese silk.[218]

The only evidence of the dress of a female occurs in connection with the goddess Lakṣmī and Viśvadhātrī. As viewed thus, the women were perhaps fond of wearing printed dress.[219] But, in general, the wearers chose the finest of materials and looked to the fineness and richness of their texture. Expressions like divya vastra, sūkṣma vastra are very common in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*.[220]

Some passages of our purāṇa indicate that white garments were considered pure and auspicious. The pūjaka-Brāhmins put on white cloth and white uttarīya,[221] while red, yellow, blue and black dresses were restricted for them.[222] Like today, Lord Jagannātha was dressed in yellow cloth.[223] The head-dress (pagaḍī) was of white, red or black cloth.[224]

Like food, clothes also formed the chief and popular articles of gift. Clothes were distributed among Brāhmaṇas on the occasion of pūjā or yajña.[225] As mentioned earlier, King Indradyumna offered clothes to the Brāhmaṇas after horse-sacrifice.[226]

The art and culture of the period of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* abound in representations of a variety of ornaments made out of gold, silver, pearl and ivory.[227] The elephant's teeth

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were employed in various ornamental uses like other metals.[228] The dice meant for dyūtakarma was made of elephant's teeth.[229] The paryyaṅka (bed) used for Lord Jagannātha might be also an example of ivory work.[230]

This purāṇa presents different shapes of ornaments made for different parts of human body.[231] The only ornament of the ear mentioned in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* is kuṇḍala (ear-rings).[232] As its name suggests, the kuṇḍala was of the shape of a coil. Mauktikaṁ was an ornament of the nose.[233] The ornaments for the neck have been mentioned in our purāṇa under different names such as hāra, māḷā.[234] Sometimes, a pendant made of muktā (pearl) was attached to the necklace in the middle and was used for decorating the chest.[235] The use of the girdle worn round the waist was known to the people. The various names of the girdle employed in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* are mekhalā, kaṭisūtra and kiṅkiṇīsūtra.[236] Both bracelets (kaṅkaṇa) and armlets (keyūra) were used in that period.[237] The feet were adorned with nūpura.[238]

Besides these, the skilled artisans of that period made beautiful idols of the deities with gold[239] and such sculptured specimens had their ornamental value. For the decoration of fore-head, people used tiḷaka (a small round-shaped patch of sandal-paste).[240] A few cosmetics mentioned in our purāṇa are candana, kasturī and kuṅkuma.[241] These were popular in the society perhaps for their scents, perfumes as well as medicinal quality.

Music and Dancing

All the forms of Indian art, music, dance, paintings, sculpture, architecture, literature, etc., had their influence in the society. Music and dance were presented as a part of ritual and worship.[242] The triple union of lyric, instrument and dance exhibited in the temple of Lord Jagannātha contributes to the concept of music.[243] It was here in the temple that great poets presented their works for the first time. Great musicians and dancers were attached to the temples. Since the time of Jayadeva, *Śrī Gīta Govindam* was introduced as the temple-music in Orissa especially in Jagannātha temple. Prior to the period of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, Devadāsīs were employed by Coḍagaṅgadeva in the temple of Lord Jagannātha.[244] Then, Anaṅgabhīmadeva built the Nāṭamandira in the temple.[245] It was meant for the performance of dance and music.

As evident from our purāṇa, both vocal and instrumental music were popular among the people. Poetries, stotras and purāṇas were recited in the temple of Lord Jagannātha during the time of worshipping the deities.[246] These were also meant for providing aesthetic joy and were recited with feeling and usually to the accompaniment of a musical instrument. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* mentions a number of musical instruments which were played upon by the people. These were Śaṁkha, Ghaṇṭā, Mārddaḷa, Tantrī, Kāhāḷa, Vīṇā, Mṛdaṅga, Kāṁsya, Pinākī, Mūralī, Dhakkā, Paṭaha, Diṇḍima and Madhurī, etc.[247] It is note-worthy to record here that several technical terms of music such as svara (the note of musical scale), tāḷa (the musical measure) and dhvani (the sound of a musical instrument) were also included in our purāṇa.[248] Thus, the merriment in the form of singing and dancing was a necessary accompaniment of all functions, social as well as religious.

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Besides the above musical instruments, Cāmaras[249] were driven in the temple near the deities or in the royal court near the kings. These were very much beautiful and for fanning. Banners and umbrellas were also used to decorate the deities in the procession and in the festivals.[250]

Measurement and Counting

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* includes references to certain methods of measurement and counting, which indicate the scientific knowledge of the people in the society. The evidences employed in the purāṇa clearly show that the hasta, krośa and yojana were used for measuring distance.[251] One hasta stands approximately for one and half feet or 18 inches. Similarly, one furlong as explained by Monier Williams, is equal to 400 hastas and one yojana is equal to 16,000 hastas (or 4 krośas).[251A] But, as suggested by V.S. Apte, one yojana is nearly equal to 4 krośas or eight miles,[252] i.e., one krośa measures roughly two miles. Among all the linear measures, yava[253] was considered as the smallest. The finger was also employed in the length-measurement.[254] The people in those times used paḷa as a measure of volume of liquids.[255] Our purāṇa mentions that water, curd, ghee, milk, honey, etc., were measured in terms of paḷa.[256] Some references also indicate that paḷa was used to measure weight of certain things, such as śarkarā (sugar) was weighted by paḷa.[257]

Counting was well-known to people in the-then society. In general, they learned to count numbers one to ten. The decimal and multiple methods of counting were employed for a small and a large quantity respectively. The purāṇa includes śata, sahasra, koṭi and parārddha in the chain of counting higher numbers.[258] Parārddha was most probably the largest countable number.

Animals and Birds

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* includes a variety of animals and birds living in the society of its time. Among the animals, some were domestic and some were wild. The cows were the most common among the domesticated animals. The other animals mentioned in the purāṇa are horse, tiger, lion, dog, elephant, etc.[267] The tiger and the lion are described as ferocious animals. The other references in the purāṇa suggests that the horses were already domesticated. They were regarded useful in sacrifices.[268] Horses were yoked to chariots. A horse was one of the select jewels of a Cakravartin. The horses were used in the battle-field.

Among all the animals, our purāṇa gives great importance to the cows. In fact, the cow was held to be the most sacred by the people in the society. To touch a cow with the foot was considered sinful by the ancient Indians.[269] During the time of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, the gift of cows to the Brāhmaṇas was considered extremely meritorious.[270] The cow figures considerably in social and religious performances. Gifts of cows in sacrifices were considered as highly commanded act.[271] This purāṇa suggests that dharma can be earned to a great extent by the gift of thousand cows.[272] Moreover, water mixed with cow-dung was used for washing a place or pūjā-pīṭha to have enormous sanctity.[273] On the other hand, the dog was considered as untouchable. The birds mentioned in our purāṇa include kāka, ullūka, gṛdhra and cīla.[274]

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These birds were taken for bad sign. According to the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, the Naivedya of Lord Jagannātha goes in vain when these birds fly over it and the purāṇa forwards for throwing away of such Naivedya. The beautiful art of the bird 'Garuḍa' on the chariot of Lord Jagannātha (Vāsudeva) indicates that 'Garuḍa' is the vehicle of Viṣṇu.[275] Viṣṇu is called 'Garuḍadhvaja'.[276] The purāṇic expressions mention 'Garuḍa' as the 'Consecrated Lord' of the birds.[277] Viṣṇu has a great liking for him for his might and great speed.

Plants

In the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, we find reference to vṛkṣa, guḷma, latā and tṛṇajātis of plants. The most well-known tree is the Kalpa-Vṛkṣa which is mentioned in our purāṇa among all other deities worshipped in the compound of the temple of Lord Jagannātha. This tree is variously called as Kalpa-Vaṭa, Kalpa-Pādapa, Kalpa-Taru, Kalpa-Vṛkṣa or simply Vaṭa-Vṛkṣa or Vaṭa.[278] According to our purāṇa, this holy tree stands there in the shape of Viṣṇu himself. One, who worships Kalpa-Vṛkṣa and sits under it, becomes free from great sins like 'Brahmahatyā'.[279] The trees, whose sticks were used for brushing teeth, are vaṭa, khadira, kadamba, karañja, tintiḍī, veṇupṛṣṭha, nimva, dumvara, apamārga, vilva.[280] Other plants having thorn and juice are also found mentioned in the above group.[281] The brushing-stick should be of twelve-finger-length.[282] Among fruit bearing plants, the purāṇa includes nārikela, panasa, nāgaraṅga, jambhīra, kadalī, jambu, āmra, tāla, dāḍima, badarī, karkaṭī, gubāka, drākṣā and kamalā, etc.[283] As evident from our purāṇa, the plant world was considered to be the main source of subsistence of the people. The plants supplying food-grains were paddy (śālī, śyāma, etc.), tibhidi, mudga, śimba, tila, sasarpa, kulatha, kaṅgu, māṣa and yava.[284]

In the age of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, the people in the society had a fascination for flowers and garlands made of flowers. These were mainly used for decorating the deities. The flower-plants referred to in our purāṇa are pārijāta, karavīra, ṭagara, kuṅda, mallī, campaka, vakula, ketakī, nīlakamala, punnāga and aśoka, etc.[285] Besides flowers, tulasī, dūva and kuśa plants are mentioned. These were used in worshipping the deities.[286] The other plants and creepers to which the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* refers, are lavaṅga, jīraka, marīca, godhūma, candana, caṇaka, ikṣu, kuṣmāṇḍa, padma, tāmvula and hiṅgu.[287] Bamboo was popularly used for many purposes.[288] The purāṇa includes punnāga, campaka, candana, rakta-candana, jamvu, āmra, nimva and dumvara in the list of trees whose wood is considered suitable for pūjā-pīṭha.[289]

Some Popular Beliefs

During the time of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, the people in the society believed in superstitions. The beliefs in good and bad omens were based on the appearance and movements of spirits, vetāḷas, dāṅkinīs and piśācas, the behaviour of plants, birds and animals, the throbbing of one's own limbs such as eye-lids, arms, thighs, etc. The dreams were also accounted for some future-happenings. The King Indradyumna dreamt of Lord Viṣṇu in the third part of the night.[290] To believe in a fact, materials collected from the spot were presented. Brāhmin Vidyāpati handed over the garland of Lord Mādhava to King Indradyumna in order to make him believe in the fact that he (Vidyāpati) had visited the deity.[291]

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The people in general had faith in the *Śakuna-Śāstra.* The throbbing of the left-eye and the left-thigh of a male was considered inauspicious. King Indradyumna became sad and depressed when his left-eye and left-arm trembled.[292] He asked Nārada about the bad omen and the famous foreteller told that he (the King Indradyumna) could not visit 'Mādhava'.[293] The people were staunch supporter of vice and virtue as well as birth and death. They had the notion of svarga and naraka.[294] They had fear for the death-god 'Yama' who gives punishments to notorious lives after death.[295] Besides, they had also the idea of Yakṣa and Gandharva.[296]

It was believed that the evil spirits, rākṣasas, piśācas, vetāḷas and dāṅkinīs go away hearing the sound of the bell. Hence, there was the custom of ringing the bell near the pūjā-pīṭha before pūjā begins.[297] As stated earlier, killing a Brāhmin was considered a great sin. The flight of birds like crow, owl, vulture and kite over the chariot of Lord Jagannātha was included in bad omens. Mishappenings such as death and drought occur in the state, if the deity falls from the hands of the worshipper.[298] The people believed in yoga and prāṇāyāma which cure diseases.[299] On the other hand, enormous sanctity has been associated with 'Mahāprasāda' of Lord Jagannātha, which, according to belief, can cure even leprosy.[300] The result of touching Mahāprasāda was considered more pious than the gift of one-crore of cows and the performance of hundred horse-sacrifices.[301]

There was a wide-spread belief that the god descended from heaven to help mortals. According to our purāṇa, the god Keśava plays with the people in *ŚrīKṣetra.*[302] Communication of people with the gods is also narrated. Indradyumna with Nārada went to Brahmaloka to invite Brahmā. Thus, man physically could go to Brahmaloka,[303] by way of his virtuous deeds.

The people had a belief in the sacredness of tīrthodaka (water of different tīrthas) which, according to Sūta, is only suitable for the mahāsnāna of Lord Jagannātha.[304] Likewise, Ratha Yātrā of Lord Jagannātha was considered the most auspicious moment. People used to visit it to earn 'dharma' to a greater extent even more than thousand of horse-sacrifices.[305] But, they believed in the fact that breaking of the chariot from anyside causes bad results to the king, to the kingdom and to the subjects.[306] Thus, breaking of Ratha from any corner produces bad effects on Brāhmins, breaking of the axle brings bad to Kṣatriyas, tuḷā to Vaiśyas and sampā to Śūdras. If 'dhura' is broken, there will be no rain. Breaking of the pīṭha causes destruction to the subjects and the wheels to the king. It is also mentioned that the kingdom will be lost when 'dhvaja' is broken and the king will die when the idol is broken.[307] Such religious beliefs promoted moral character of the people and developed discipline among them.

Social Etiquette

Etiquette is the real measure of a civilized society. Every society behaves in a particular manner which also changes with the passage of time and with the advancement of civilization. As evident from early Sanskrit literature, the Āryans, from the very beginning were particular about the rules of etiquette. Since such a code of conduct in a society is generally unwritten, it is mostly to be gathered from the actual behaviour of its people which forms a high or low impression about them. Some of the rules belonging to such a code of formal behaviour are

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found to be common to the society in the age of *Nīlādri-Mahodayam.* Regard for the senior, honour to guests, sincere cordiality to the equal and affection for the junior were the manifestations of good behaviour in that society.

Among all the four varṇas in the society, the Brāhmaṇas were considered worthy of highest respect.[308] People belonging to lower varṇa paid respect to the members of higher varṇa. Offering a seat[309] and paying regards to the superiors by way of 'daṇḍa praṇāma'[310] were current in that society.

The guests were properly respected. To wish one another and make mutual inquiries of welfare were fairly popular in the society of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam.* Viśvāvasu, on seeing Vidyāpati, politely asked about the purpose of his visit.[311] Bhavān[312] and Bhagavān[313] were the general terms of respect employed for a senior. Among persons of almost equal age and status the popular term of address was tvam.[314]

Thus, the foregoing treatment of the subject gives us an idea of social life of the people and their culture during the period under review. The state of social progress as marked in the purāṇa may well be compared with one of a civilized society.

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   Dhanadhānya suputrāṇāṁ pautrāṇāṁ yaśasāṁ tathā//"
3. *N.M.*, 57.51a and 57.56.
4. *N.M.*, 4.77a : "Indradyumnena to devāḥ kathaṁ sparddhāṁ...../"
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8. *N.M.*, 11.79-80.
9. *N.M.*, 9.62 :
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   Tadopanayanaṁ kurya jyeṣṭhaputrasya dhīmate//"
   N.M., 9.73 :
   "Tasya gotre yadāputrojyeṣṭho na syācca daivataḥ/
   Dvitīya tanayaṁ kuryyādgniśarmāṇa mādarāt//"
10. *N.M.*, 11.78 :
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    Tadācarenmahāsnānaṁ dviguṇaṁ...../"
11. *N.M.*, 11.79 : "Deve kṣatriya saṁspṛṣṭe mahāsnāna...../"
12. *N.M.*, 10.115 :
    "Cāṇḍāḷādi jaḷaspṛṣṭaṁ tadannaṁ ca nṛpottama/
    Bhoktavyaṁ sahasā vipraiḥ pāvanaṁ suradurllabham//"
    N.M., 10.124 :

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"Kukurasya mukhādbhraṣṭaṁ tadgrāhyaṁ daivatairapi/
Tasmāttadannaṁ sahasā prāptamātreṇa bhakṣayet//"

13. *Śukra Nīti*, p.223; *Manu*, 1.2; Gyani, S.D., *Agni Purāṇa - A Study*, p.240.
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19. *Bhagavad Gītā*, XVIII.42.
20. *N.M.*, 9.3 :
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22. *N.M.*, 3.94b-96 :
"Yajñānte vahudānani tena dattāni koṭiśaḥ//
Annaiśca...../"
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"Suvarṇaṁ rajataṁ ratnaṁ vastraṁ dhānyaṁ ca gāṁ punaḥ/
Datvā santoṣayedvipraṁ karma kartāra muttam//
Bhojayet brāhmaṇān divyaṁ pāyasaṁ madhusarpiṣā/
Annaṁ pūpādikaṁ tāvat pratiṣṭhānte tato dvijā//"
24. *N.M.*, 116.131 :
"Pūrṇāhutiṁ tataḥ kṛtvā hema bhūmyādi dakṣiṇām/
Datvā vahuvidhāṁ divai ratnai viprāṁśca toṣayet//"
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28. *N.M.*, 9.66 :
"..... so'yaṁ pratinidhi stava/
Utsaveṣu ca sarveṣu...../"
29. *N.M.*, 2.44-48.
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N.M., 42.44a : "Vaṭuṁ dhārayate yastu vinā mantreṇa bhūsuraḥ/"
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32. *N.M.*, 2.96b : "Iti viśvāvasorvāṇīṁ śrutvā sa dharaṇīsuraḥ//"
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Vinayena yutaḥ śrīmān...../
Kāmādidoṣarahitaḥ...../
Ācāryastādṛśaḥ śrīmān...../"

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42. *N.M.*, 9.66 :
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Utsaveṣu ca sarveṣu śirapāṇiṁ sureśvaram//"

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Paśyatāṁ juṣatāṁ vāpi brahmahatyādipāpahā//"
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"Śanaiḥ śanaihrviveśātha śavaradvīpakānane//
Taṁ dṛṣṭvā śavaraśreṣṭho...../
Namaskṛtyārccayadvipraṁ...../"

55. *N.M.*, 2.53a : "..... vanametaca gahvaram/"
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Drakṣiṣyasi paraṁ devaṁ.....,.....//"

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Sarvaiśca munibhistāvat.....//"

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80. *N.M.*, 1.23b : "Draṣṭuṁ samarthāḥ śivadaṁ pāvanaṁ dharaṇīsuraḥ//"
N.M., 1.24a : "Pañcakrośāyatiyutaṁ śaṅkhākāraṁ manoharam/"

81. *N.M.*, 7.52 :
Yātino brāhmaṇāścaiva sanyāsī brahmacāriṇaḥ/
Vānaprasthāśca śūdrāśca ye kecicca tathāntyajāḥ//"

82. *Manusmṛti*, 2.41, 175 and 6.87.

83. *Ibid.*, 6.2.

84. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, III.5.1; *The Cultural Heritage of India*, II, p.560.

85. *Bhagavad Gītā*, 6.2, 18.2; *Manusmṛti*, 1.114, 5.108.

86. *N.M.*, 4.106a : "Ṛṣigotre kṣaṇamasau ...../"

87. *N.M.*, 4.107a : ".....khyāte vadarikāśrame/"

88. *N.M.*, 2.17 :
"Taṁ dṛṣṭvā sahasā rājā namaskṛtya sabhāntare/
Sarvaiḥ sammānitāyāsmai dadau cāsana muttamam//"

89. *N.M.*, 2.19a : "Nṛpasyedaṁ vacaḥ śrutvā jaṭilaḥ sa sabhātaḷe/"

90. *N.M.*, 2.20-25, 2.28-36.

91. *N.M.*, 2.39 : "Tataḥ purodhasaḥ prāha tannimittaṁ sa satvaraḥ/"

92. *N.M.*, 2.128 :
"Jñāna vairāghyayoryogaṁ bhaktiyogasya kāraṇam/
Caturvidhasamam yogam...../"

93. *N.M.*, 2.130-133.

94. *N.M.*, 1.10 :
"Bhagavān sarvadharmajña sarvatīrthāditattvavit/
Ato vrūhi samastānāṁ tīrthānāṁ śiva saṁbhṛtām//"

95. *N.M.*, 1.9b :
"Ucuḥ prājñalayaḥ sarve sarvalokahitāya vai//"

96. Vide *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, I, 14.

97. *Śukra Nīti*, 1.61.

98. *Matsya Purāṇa*, CCXX.20.

99. *Mbh.*, Śānti Parva, p.LIX, 106-108, LXVII, 23-29.

100. *C.H.V.P.*, p.162.

101. Basham, A.L., *A Cultural History of India*, p.130.

102. *Manu*, VII, 3,4,5,7.

103. *C.H.V.P.*, p.164.

104. *S.P.S.V.R.*, p.296.

105. *N.M.*, 4.77 :
"Indradyumnena te devāḥ kathaṁ sparddhāṁ bhajanti ca/
Ayaṁ hi tapasā siddhaḥ pañcama puruṣo mama//"

106. *N.M.*, 4.44b : "Mānuṣaṁ dehamaśritya brahmalokaṁ prativrajam//"
N.M., 4.49 :

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"Brahmadvāre tapogamye śanti yatra maharṣayaḥ/
Indrādayaḥ surāḥ sarve nānābhūṣaṇa bhūṣitā//"

107. *N.M.*, 2.8b.

108. *Manu*, I, 89.

109. Ghoshal, U.N., *History of Hindu Political Theories*, p.63; *C.H.V.P.*, p.165.

110. *N.M.*, 3.47c : "Vājimedha sahasreṇa drakṣiṣyasi punarvibhum//"
N.M., 3.87 :
"Śālāṁ kuru dṛḍhāṁ divyāṁ viśālāṁ ca viśāṁpate/
Vājimedha sahasrasya yatra karmābhavedatha//"
N.M., 3.94b : "Yajñānte vahudānāni tena dattāni koṭiśaḥ//"

111. *N.M.*, 3.42b-43.

112. *N.M.*, 2.9 :
"Satyavādī nṛpaśreṣṭhaḥ sadācāraratataḥ śuciḥ/
Dharmojño nyāyaśīlaśca vidheḥ pañcama pūruṣaḥ//"

113. *N.M.*, 2.12 : "Vaiṣṇavo viprasevī ca...../"

114. *P.M.*, 38.35 : "Hartāraḥ pārthiva eva...../"
Also, *L.V.*, p.171.

115. *Manu*, XII.100.

116. *N.M.*, 2.10-11a.

117. *N.M.*, 3.121c.

118. Jayaswal, K.P., *Hindu Polity*, p.189.

119. *N.M.*, 3.25c : "Paśyabhūpa samastānāṁ kāmanānāṁ phalapradām//"
N.M., 2.56a : "Purodhaṣaḥ kaniṣṭho'haṁ bhrātā vidyāpatiḥ smṛtaḥ/"
N.M., 4.18a : "Evaṁ saptavidhā viṣṇordārurūpadharasya vai/"
N.M., 2.13a : "Evaṁ samasta guṇavānnindradyumn mahīpatiḥ/"
N.M., 2.68b : "Prāsādaṁ sa mahīnatho racayiṣyati bhūtale//"
N.M., 3.101d : "Etādṛśaṁ kalpataruṁ pṛṣṭavān dharaṇīpatiḥ/"
N.M., 3.10b : "Kṛtavānavanīnātho dharma saṁcāra satvaraḥ//"

120. *N.M.*, 3.7c : "Liṅga kāśīpateḥ śīghraṁ paśya bhūpaśiromaṇe//"
N.M., 3.90a : "Lokottarāmśca sampādya samrāṭ sa pṛthivīśvaraḥ/"

121. *N.M.*, 4.103b : "Nānāvatāralīlānāṁ śarma bhuṁkte jagatpatiḥ//"

122. *N.M.*, 3.87a.
N.M., 4.20b : "Te sarve daṇḍavadbhūyaḥ praṇipatya muhurmuhuḥ//"

123. *N.M.*, 2.26a : "Kasmin deśe'smi tatkṣetraṁ kiyaddūraṁ cakīdṛśam/"
N.M., 2.13b : "Mālavākhye mahādeśe hyavantīnāmataḥ purī//"
N.M., 2.139b : "Putra pautrādibhiḥ sārddhaṁ...../"
N.M., 7.41b : "Rājā rāṣṭrañca sannaśyate pūjā ca viphaṭā bhavet//"
N.M., 3.38b : "Idānīṁ yāntu te sarve rājyaṁ mama sutānvitāḥ//

124. *N.M.*, 2.13b.
N.M., 5.8a : "Tatsevaka janāste ca kṣipraṁ gatvā tamūcire/"
N.M., 2.35b : "Grāmaṁ vā vasanādiṁ vā dravyamanyannṛpottama//"

125. *N.M.*, 8.62 :

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"Viṣṇuḥ krodhayuto'pi syātpūjā sā viphaḷā bhavet/
Rājā rājyaṁ ca mantrī ca tathā pratinidhiḥ pumān//"
N.M., 2.137a : "Ityuktvā mantriṇaṁ rājā śuddhāntakaraṇo drutam/"
N.M., 3.100a : "Śuddhāntaḥ karaṇo rājā sūryavat pasphurad vapuḥ/"

126. *N.M.*, 2.39 : "Tataḥ purodhasaṁ prāha tannimittaṁ sa satvaraḥ/"

127. *N.M.*, 2.44a : "Bhrātā vidyāpatirnāma kaṁṣṭho varttate mama/"
N.M., 2.46b : "Taṁ vidyāpatināmānaṁ rājā prāsthāpayadvijāḥ//"

128. *N.M.*, 2.134-139.

129. *P.M.*, 7.9-10 : "Aṣṭādaśasu vidyāsu....."
Also, *C.H.V.P.*, p.167.

130. *Agni Purāṇa*, 226.5-6.

131. *Rāmāyaṇa*, VII, 61.22; *Agni Purāṇa*, 234.17.

132. *Ibid.*

133. *N.M.*, 2.135a : "Samāhūya nijāmātyaṁ tadā vācamuvāca saḥ/"

134. *Ibid.*

135. *N.M.*, 3.27 :
"Praviśya nīḷakaṇṭhaṁ taṁ saṁkhāgre darśayan muniḥ/
Kṣetramāsaratastasya...../"

136. *N.M.*, 3.30b : "Kintu te mādhavasyāsya darśanaṁ na bhaviṣyati//"

137. *N.M.*, 3.34b : "Ākarnya sahasā rājā vajrapāta idāpatat//"
N.M., 3.35a : "Hāhākāro mahānāsījjanāstatra samāgotāḥ/"

138. *N.M.*, 3.42a : "Viṣādaṁ mākuru kṣipraṁ dhairyaṁ bhaja nṛpottama/"
N.M., 3.47c : "Vājimedha sahasreṇa drakṣiṣyasi punarvibhum//"
N.M., 3.48b : "Dārubhrahma tavadvārāt prakāśaṁ ca bhaviṣyati//"

139. *Śukra Nīti*, 2.175, p.83.

140. *N.M.*, 4.50a : "Maṇikodaranāmnā te dvārapāḷena vāritaḥ/"
N.M., 4.52 : "Atha taṁ bhūpatiṁ viprā dvārapālonya vārayat/"

141. *N.M.*, 4.62c : "Ninayāmvuja yonestaṁ samīpaṁ suradurllabham//"

142. *N.M.*, 3.55 : "Idānīṁ sainyamatraiva...../"

143. *N.M.*, 2.155a : "Snātā nāma trilokānāṁ saṁsāro na hi jāyate/"

144. *N.M.*, 5.65a : "Suvarnaṁ rajataṁ ratnaṁ vastraṁ dhānyaṁ ca gāṁ punaḥ/"

145. *N.M.*, 2.17a : "Taṁ dṛṣṭvā sahasā rājā namaskṛtya sabhāntare/"
N.M., 2.19b : "Uktavān sahasāścaryaṁ romāñcita vapurdharaḥ//"
N.M., 2.37a : "Ityuktvā jaṭilaḥ so'bhutpaśyatāṁ ca sabhātaḷe/"
N.M., 2.124a : "Praviveśa sabhāmadhye smarannārāyaṇaṁ vibhūm/"

146. *V.I.*, 2.426.

147. Basham, A.L., *A Cultural History of India*, p.132.

148. *N.M.*, 14.89a : "Bhakṣyaṁ bhojyaṁ ca carvyaṁ ca lehyaṁ peyaṁ ca coṣyakam/"

149. *N.M.*, 14.89b : "Īthiṁ ca ṣaḍrasairyuktaṁ divyamannaṁ caturvidham//"

150 *N.M.*, 24.9a : "Godhūmacūrṇaṁ paramaṁ taṇḍulānāṁ tathā nṛpa/"

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N.M., 24.11a : "Tilānāṁ nārikelānāṁ caṇakānāṁ tathaivaca/"
N.M., 7.4b : "Ādau taṇḍula mudgānāṁ nārikela phalairyavaiḥ//"
N.M., 7.92a : "Māṣa samvandhikaṁ pūpaṁ khecarānnaṁ manoramam/"

151. *N.M.*, 42.55b : "Annaṁ vinā na vartteta jagadetat pratiṣṭhitam//"
N.M., 19.5b : "Nānāpūpa samāyuktaṁ nānāvyañjana saṁyutam//"

152. *N.M.*, 14.89b.
N.M., 19.6a : "Pāyasaṁ khecarānnaṁ ca caturvidhamanuttamam/"
N.M., 22.45b : "Śarkarādugdhalājānāṁ nārikela phalasya ca//"

153. *N.M.*, 7.92b : "Ghṛta jarjaritaṁ bhūpa śarkarānnaṁ tathaivaca//"

154. *N.M.*, 7.95a : "Navya gavya ghṛtaiḥ pakvaṁ pūpaṁ nānāvidhaṁ vahu/"
N.M., 8.24a : "Nānā varṇaṁ ca pūpaṁ ca deyaṁ kṛṣṇāyanosmatat/"

155. *N.M.*, 7.93a : "Māṣāṇāṁ taṇḍulānāṁ ca pṛthak pūpaṁ mahodayam/
N.M., 16.37 :
"Godhūma cūrṇaiḥ kṣīreṇāmikṣayā nṛpasattama/
Ghṛtāgni yogataḥ...../"

156. *N.M.*, 24.10b : "Padmapatrākṛtitayā tadā pūpāni kārayet//"

157. *N.M.*, 24.8b-10a.

158. *N.M.*, 11.11b : "Dadyānmurāraye bhaktyā tilamodakamuttamam//"

159. *N.M.*, 7.61b-62a.
N.M., 11.10b : "Nārikelārdrakayutaṁ śitācūrṇa samanvitam//"

160. *Ibid.*

160A. *N.M.*, 15.85b : "Kṣiptvā dūrvākṣatān...../"

161. *N.M.*, 28.60a.

162. *N.M.*, 8.23a : "Cūrṇibhūta sitāyuktaṁ keśavāya prayacchayet/"

163. *N.M.*, 11.9b : "Śarkarāṁśca tathā dadyāddivyaṁ śca nṛpasattama//"

164. *N.M.*, 22.43b : ".....khaṇḍamekatra bhājane nyaset//"

165. *N.M.*, 22.45b-46a.

166. *N.M.*, 8.11 :
".....ghṛtapācita muttam/
Pūpotkaraṁ tathā dugdhaṁ...../"
N.M., 22.43a : "Ṣaṭ palaṁ dadhi dugdhaṁ ca...../"
N.M., 7.95a : "Navya gavya ghṛtaiḥ...../"
N.M., 10.62b : "Dvibhāge gavya payasi...../"

167. *N.M.*, 24.10a : "Pākānte marddayeddhīmān ghṛteṣu paripācayet/"
N.M., 8.22b : "Annaṁ nānāvidhaṁ pūpaṁ ghṛta pakva manuttaṁ//"

167A. *N.M.*, 24.11b.

167B. *C.H.V.P.*, p.213 and fn.72.

168. *N.M.*, 22.43-44a.

169. *N.M.*, 11.19b : "Dadyādamṛtakuṇḍaṁ ca pākakāra vinirmitam//"

170. *N.M.*, 10.16b-17 and 37.71b.
N.M., 7.73a : "Madhuparkaṁ tato dadyāt punarācamanaṁ śubham/"

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171. Apte, V.S., *The Students Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p.421.

172. *Sacred Books of the East*, 42.84.

173. *N.M.*, 9.54a : "Matsyamāṁ sādirahito haviṣyāśī jitendriyaḥ/"

174. *N.M.*, 9.9a : "Matsya māṁsādirahito na vai paryyuṣitāśanaḥ/"

175. *N.M.*, 7.94 :
"Hiṅgu jīrakasajjātiphalādroka lavaṅgakaiḥ/
Nārikelaphalai stāvallavaṇena ca ranjitam//"
N.M., 11.19a : "Marīcakṣoda nicayaṁ nikṣipyo kṣitipottama/"
N.M., 10.88 :
"Nikṣipayaṁ jīrakaṁ tāvanmarīcaṁ cādrakaṁ punaḥ/
Rāmaṭhaṁ lavaṇaṁ tatra yathāyogyaṁ niyojayet//"
N.M., 10.72a : "Lavaṇaṁ ca yathāyogyaṁ marīcakṣodamiśritam/"

176. *N.M.*, 10.66b : "Śarkarāṁ pātayettatra karpūraṁ ca marīcakam//"

177. Vide this chapter, 'Sages'.

178. *N.M.*, 11.4-8 and 16.39-40a.

179. *N.M.*, 11.8b : "Kandamūlāni ramyāṇi...../"

180. *N.M.*, 11.7a : ".....jalajaṁ śṛṅgikā phalam/"

181. *N.M.*, 10.71a : "Kuṣmāṇḍaṁ sakalaṁ divyaṁ...../"

182. *N.M.*, 10.48a : "Supakva kadalīyuktaṁ...../"
N.M., 16.39a : "Pakvarambhāphalānyeva...../"

183. *N.M.*, 8.22a : "Śākaṁ ghṛtādibhiryuktaṁ...../"

184. *N.M.*, 14.54b : "Snānārthaṁ jagadīśasya brahmannīraṁ samānaya//"
N.M., 14.64a : "Āvirbhāva dināṇte'dya snāpayāmyahamambha sā/"
N.M., 14.70a : "Snāpayāmi jalaiḥ puṇyai...../"
N.M., 7.95b : "..... suvāsita jalaṁ punaḥ//"

185. *N.M.*, 14.101a : "Suvāsitajalaṁ tatra pakvatāmvula marpayet/"
N.M., 14.102b : "Dūrvākṣatān pītavastraṁ jalaṁ tāmvūlamuttamam//"

186. *N.M.*, 16.38b : "Payaḥ peṭīsamūhaṁ ca tathā divyaṁ prapānakam//"

187. *N.M.*, 37.96-97a.

188. *N.M.*, 11.47a : "Yato vai bhojanasyānte tāmvulānāṁ samarpaṇam/"

189. *N.M.*, 11.44b-45a :
"Lavaṅga jātikāyāśca phalayuktaṁ tathā nṛpa//
Eḷāphaḷa samāyuktaṁ karpūra kṣodamiśritam/"

190. *N.M.*, 22.49a, 44.61b, 7.77, 16.160, 5.201a, 46.36a, 8.31a, 33.32a, 33.39b-40a.

191. *N.M.*, 40.40b : "Tatastāmvulanicaya tābhyāṁ dadyācca deśikaḥ//"

192. *N.M.*, 7.54a : "Pākakarmaṇī yo...../"

193. *N.M.*, 11.19b : ".....pākakāra vinirmitam//"

194. *N.M.*, 7.53 :
"Na ke'pi pākasālāṁ vai gaccheyuśca nareśvara/
Sāvadhāno bhavān bhūtvā pāḷayet pākamandiram//"

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195. *N.M.*, 7.54b : "Na laṁghayetkopi viṣṇoḥ pākamandira dehalīm//"

196. *N.M.*, 16.57 :
"Mahāvedyāṁ pākaśālāṁ dhautayecca trivārataḥ/
Gomayodakajāḷeṇa sudhārasajalaistathā//"

197. *N.M.*, Ch.42.

198. *N.M.*, Ch.91.

199. *N.M.*, 7.35b-36a.

200. *N.M.*, 7.36b : "Ādau praṇavamuccāryya tataḥ pātrāṇi dhautayet//"

201. *N.M.*, 10.101 :
"Pākayogyāni pātrāṇi raktavarṇāni kārayet/
Kṛṣṇavarṇāni pātrāṇi na kuryyā cca kadācana//"

202. *N.M.*, 11.48.

203. *N.M.*, 40.48 :
"Ājyasthālī taijasīvā mṛṇmayī yogyatā vasāt/
Vaiśvadevanimittaṁ ca carusthālyāṁ parinyāset//"

204. *N.M.*, 32.49b.
N.M., 14.17 :
"Brahmā'pi tajjalaṁ divyaṁ svarṇakumbheṣu pūrayet/
Raupyeṣvatha ca tāmreṣu tvaṣṭottara...../"

205. *N.M.*, 10.42a : "Taṇḍulāṁśca jalaṁ caiva navye mṛṇmayabhājane/"
N.M., 10.44a : "Pāṣāṇa bhūte pātre'pi hyekatramarditaṁ caret/"

206. *N.M.*, 32.44a : "Sauvarṇaropyakān kumbhānathavā tāmra sambhavān/"
N.M., 42.53b : "Carusthālī bhavet prājna pittalaiścātha mṛṇmayaiḥ//"

207. *N.M.*, 26.51b.

208. *N.M.*, 7.1b, 8.6a, 8.20b.

209. *N.M.*, 5.66 :
"Bhojayet brāhmaṇān divyaṁ pāyasaṁ madhusarpiṣā/
Annaṁ pūpādikaṁ tāvat pratiṣṭhānte tato dvijā//"
N.M., 41.38b : "Bhojanaṁ brāhmaṇānāṁ ca kāraye nṛpasattama//"

210. *N.M.*, 1.6b : "Kṛṣṇājinottarīyeṇa...../"

211. *N.M.*, 1.6a : "..... dhṛta kaupīna sundaraḥ/"

212. *Ibid.*

213. *N.M.*, 8.56b : "Nānā bhūṣaṇa sanaddhaṁ...../"

214. *N.M.*, 5.181a : "Punarācamanaṁ tāvatpīta vastraṁ dvayaṁ tataḥ/"

215. *N.M.*, 6.167b : "Sudhauta sūkṣmavastrābhyāṁ paridhānottarīyake//"
N.M., 5.182a : "Yajñopavītaṁ datvātha cottarīyaṁ manoramam/"

216. *N.M.*, 5.181b : "..... śirasi śuddhasūkṣmāmva raṁ hareḥ//"

217. *N.M.*, 9.66a, Such head-dress was called pagaḍī.

218. *N.M.*, 31.82a : "..... śukla cinaṁ vicitritam/"

219. *N.M.*, 31.84 :

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"Citraṁ vastraṁ ca saṁrakṣya mādhavārthaṁ tathaiva ca/
Lakṣmīkṛte'ṁśukaṁ citraṁ...../"

220. *N.M.*, 6.180b : "Śuddha sūkṣmāmvaraṁ...../"
N.M., 8.56b : "..... divya pitāmvaraṁ hari//"
N.M., 5.29b : "..... divyāmvara sumaṇḍitam//"

221. *N.M.*, 9.11a : "Śuddha śuklāmvaradharastathā śuklottarīyakaḥ/"

222. *N.M.*, 9.10b : "Raktaṁ pītaṁ tathāśyāmaṁ kṛṣṇa vastraṁ na dhārayet//"

223. *N.M.*, 2.78b : "Pitāmvaradharaṁ...../"

224. *N.M.*, 31.81a : "Tesu śuklaṁ ca raktaṁ ca kṛṣṇaṁ ca vasanaṁ nṛpa/"

225. *N.M.*, 23.32b : "Divyavastraṁ ca gāṁ caiva datvā santoṣayeddvijam//"

226. Vide this chapter, 'The Brāhmaṇas'.

227. *N.M.*, 5.182a : "Nānāratna samullāsaṁ haimam...../"
N.M., 29.15a : "Suvarṇa raupya racitā...../"

228. *N.M.*, 34.24b : "Dantidanta samudbhūte nānāratnopaśobhite//"

229. *N.M.*, 29.18b : "Dantidanta samudbhūtāna dyūta karma prakirttītān//"

230. *N.M.*, 23.29a : "Divya paryyaṅka maddhe...../"
N.M., 23.28a : "Mahotsave jāyamāne divya paryyaṅka śāyinau/"

231. *N.M.*, 5.29b : "Nānālaṅkāra saṁyuktaṁ...../"

232. *N.M.*, 5.184b : "Karnayoḥ kuṇḍala dvandaṁ nāsikānte ca mauktikam//"

233. *Ibid.*

234. *N.M.*, 5.185a : "Nānāratnamayīṁ māḷāṁ kaṇṭhalagnāṁ dadaupunaḥ/"

235. *N.M.*, 5.185b : "Muktā kalāpaṁ padakaṁ hṛdaye keśavasya ca//"

236. *N.M.*, 5.186 :
"Mekhalāṁ kaṭideśe ca kaṭisūtraṁ purodadau/
Punardatvā tato brahmā kiṅkiṇīsūtra muttamam//"

237. *N.M.*, 5.187a : "Kare kaṅkaṇayugmaṁ hi tathā nūpura muttamam/"
N.M., 2.78b : "Pītāmvaradharaṁ cāruhārakeyūra nūpuram//"

238. *Ibid.*

239. *N.M.*, 28.14b : "Jayadurgāṁ suvarnena racitāṁ sumanoharam//"

240. *N.M.*, 38.48b : "Tilakāni prakuryyādvai tiḷakāni nṛpottama//"
Also, vide this chapter 'The Brāhmaṇas'.

241. *N.M.*, 15.44a : "Candanāni ca kasturīṁ kuṅkumaṁ...../"

242. *N.M.*, 12.34a : "Gīte nṛtye gāyamāne...../"

243. *N.M.*, 15.64b : "Gītaṁ nṛtyaṁ tathā vādyaṁ...../"
N.M., 16.17b : "Gītai nṛtaiśca vādyaiśca viprāṇāṁ stuti niḥsvanaiḥ//"

244. *S.H.C.O.*, p.785.

245. *Ibid.*

246. *N.M.*, 4.23a : "Gītaiḥ stotraiḥ kavitaiśca purāṇai parameśvaram/"

247. *N.M.*, 14.37b-38.

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N.M., 16.14 :
"Kāhālayantravīṇādi sphurad ghaṇṭāvali dhvanau/
Mṛdaṅga kāṁsyatālānāṁ śaṁkhānāṁ ca mahatsvanam//"
N.M., 32.52a : "Vīṇā mṛdaṅga paṭahairmahotsava tayā nṛpa/"
N.M., 5.207a : "Paṭahobhamaniḥ svānaṁ gītaṁ nṛtyaṁ hareḥ puraḥ/"
N.M., 136b : "Sarvatra ḍiṇḍimadhvānaṁ racaya kṣitimaṇḍale//"
N.M., 7.115a : "Śaṁkhānāṁ niḥsvanaṁ tāvannadhurī niḥsvanaṁ tathā/"

248. *N.M.*, 3.2a : "Ekāmra vipine tatra ghaṇṭādi madhurasvaram/"
N.M., 3.129 :
"Ghaṇṭā mṛdaṅga tālānāṁ...../
Nirantaraṁ dhvaniṁ...../"

249. *N.M.*, 16.15a : "Kārayedatiyatnena cāru cāmara cālanam/"

250. *N.M.*, 15.15b : "Chatra cāmara ghaṇṭādi...../"
N.M., 15.64a : "Punaśchatra dvayaṁ dhṛtvā...../"

251. *N.M.*, 1.33a, 1.73b, 3.63b-64, 5.40c-41a.

251A. Monier-Williams, M., *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary.*

252. Apte, V.S., *The Students Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 1979 edn., p.460.

253. *N.M.*, 26.7a : "Yavapramāṇa granthīnāṁ saptaviṁśati saṁyutā/"

254. *N.M.*, 21.16a : "Ācāryaḥ saptaviṁśatyaṅguḷīmāna samanvitam/"

255. *N.M.*, 14.18a and 42.52a.

256. *N.M.*, 12.8 :
"Dadhnādaśapale naiva kuryātpañcapalaṁ payaḥ/
Catuḥ palaṁ madhu rājan ghṛtaṁ tripalamevaca//"

257. *N.M.*, 12.9a : "Śarkaraika palā divyā...../"

258. *N.M.*, 4.102a (Śata); 3.92a, 5.89a, 5.54a (Sahasra); 5.22b, 5.162b (Koṭi); 4.98b, 4.99a (Parārddha).

259. *N.M.*, 2.61 :
"..... margo'sti bhayaśaṁkulaḥ/
Siṁhavyāghrādibhirnūnaṁ...../"

260. *N.M.*, 3.19b : "Ghoraṁ rākṣasasaṁghānāṁ mārgaṁ dṛṣṭvā narādhipa//"

261. *N.M.*, 3.56a : "Śilākaṇṭaka saṁghaiśca viṣame vāhane padhi/"

262. *N.M.*, 3.56b : "Yānairgantuṁ na śaktastvamataḥ padbhyāṁ samācala//"

263. *N.M.*, 2.44b : "Deśa bhramaṇavijña...../"

264. *N.M.*, 2.32 :
"Tasmānnīlācalo yāvanmārgestekapadī prabho/
Taṁ vai ye ca pathā gatvā mādhavasyāvalokanaṁ//"

265. *N.M.*, 2.49a : "Syandane copaviśyātha hṛdā cintita mādhavaḥ/"

266. Vide this chapter, 'Dress and Ornaments'.

267. *N.M.*, 16.145 (Vāji); 2.90a (Siṁhavyāghrādayo); 10.124a (Kukura); 29.18b (Danti).

268. *N.M.*, 2.96b : "Aśvamedhāvasāne'pi...../"

269. *S.P.S.V.R.*, p.220 and fn.2.

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270. *N.M.*, 23.32b : "Divyaṁ vastraṁ ca gāṁ caiva datvā santoṣaye dvija//"

271. *N.M.*, 10.121b : "Gavāṁ koṭi pradānā cca.....//"

272. *N.M.*, 2.150b : "Go sahasra pradānen.....//"

273. *N.M.*, 11.56a : "Tataḥ śīghraṁ śodhayitvā gomayodaka sacanaṁ/"

274. *N.M.*, 16.123b-124, 16.13a, 1.67a.

275. *N.M.*, 5.33b : "Vāsudeva ratho divyogaruḍena ca cihnitaḥ//

276. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 24.80.

277. *Ibid.*, 70.10; *Rāmāyaṇa*, III. 35.15; II.45.26; VII.23.4; I.38.16.

278. *N.M.*, 1.31a (Kalpapādapa); 1.30a (Kalpavṛkṣa); 1.49b (Vaṭa); 3.101b (Kalpataru).

279. *N.M.*, 1.30-31.

280. *N.M.*, 38.19-20 (Vaṭa, Khadira, Kadamva, Karañja. Tintiḍī, Veṇu, Nimva, Āmra, Adumvara).

281. *N.M.*, 38.20b : "Apamārgaśca vilvaśca kaṇṭakā kṣīra saṁyutā//"

282. *N.M.*, 38.21b : "Etatkāṣṭhikayā tāvaddvādaśāṅgula mānayā//"

283. *N.M.*, 34.105-106a (Nārikela, Panasa, Nāgaraṅga, Jambhira, Kadalī, Jambu).
N.M., 11.5-8 (Āmra, Tāla, Dāḍima, Badarī, Karkaṭī, Gubāka, Drākṣyā, Kamalā).

284. *N.M.*, 32.30b-31a.
Also, vide this chapter, 'Food and drink'.

285. *N.M.*, 4.2a (Pārijāta).
N.M., 10.6b-7 (Karavīra, Ṭagara, Kunda, Mallī, Campaka, Vakula, Ketakī, Nīlakamala).
N.M., 30.52, 34.150 (Aśoka, Punnāga, etc.).

286. *N.M.*, 10.5 (Tulasī); 10.11a (Dūva); 17.12a (Kuśa).

287. *N.M.*, 11.44b (Lavaṅga); 10.45a (Jīraka); 11.19a (Marīca); 16.37a (Godhūma); 3.80a (Candana); 11.10a (Caṇaka); 28.60a (Ikṣu); 10.71a (Kuṣmāṇḍa); 38.47a (Padma); 11.44a (Tāmvula) and 7.94a (Hiṅgu).

288. *N.M.*, 14.115a.

289. *N.M.*, 47.16b-18a.

290. *N.M.*, 3.100b : "Tṛtīya praharānte'sau naktaṁ viṣṇuṁ dadarśa saḥ//"

291. *N.M.*, 2.121 :
"Etaddṛṣṭaṁ mayā sarvaṁ rātrau taddarśanaṁ punaḥ/
Lavdhā tvāṁ prati tasyājñā mālā prāptā ca bhūpate//"

292. *N.M.*, 3.27 : "Vāmacakṣurbhujaspando jāto.....//"

293. *N.M.*, 3.30b : "Kintu te mādhavasyāsya darśanaṁ na bhaviṣyati//"

294. *N.M.*, 11.68 : "Sapūjako rākṣasaḥ syānnarakaṁ.....//"

295. *N.M.*, 1.39 :
"Samudrasya taṭe ramye yameśvaraḥ itī ritaḥ/
Nārāyaṇātmakaḥ śrīmān yama daṇḍa vināśakaḥ//"

296. *N.M.*, 4.20a : "Yakṣa Gandharva ṛṣayo...../"

297. *N.M.*, 47.40b-42b.

298. *N.M.*, 14.43b-45a.

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299. *N.M.*, 5.160a : "Prāṇāyaṁ tataḥ kṛtvā tato japasamarpaṇam/"

300. *N.M.*, 8.40 :
"Viṣṇuḥ prītamanā bhūtvā tasmai dadyātsvakaṁ padam/
Kuṣṭhavyādhiyuto marttyo bhakṣaṇaṁ kurute yadi//"

301. *N.M.*, 10.121b.

302. *N.M.*, 1.85b : "Mānuṣaiḥ saha vai tatra kṣetre krīḍati keśavaḥ//"

303. *N.M.*, 4.50.

304. *N.M.*, 5.48b : "Nānātīrthodakaiḥ puṇaṁ tamadhye pātayetpunaḥ//"
N.M., 14.14a : "Snānārthaṁ jagadīśasya nānātīrtha samanvitaḥ/"

305. *N.M.*, 116.74 :
"Paśyedbhāvatsavā bhaktyā śuddhasatvamanā mudā/
Vājapeya sahasrasya phalaṁ prāpnotya saṁśayam//"

306. *N.M.*, 5.82-85.

307. *Ibid.*

308. *N.M.*, 2.52b : "Sākṣātviṣṇu svarūpastvaṁ brāhmaṇo'dya nirīkṣitaḥ//"

309. *N.M.*, 2.112 and 2.17.

310. *N.M.*, 2.124b-125.
N.M., 5.24 :
"Indradyumnaṁ ca bhūpālaṁ daṇḍavat praṇipatya saḥ/
Tatpṛṣṭha sthala māḷamvya tasthau gālava bhūpatiḥ//"

311. *N.M.*, 2.53b-54.

312. *Ibid.*, and 2.113b.

313. *N.M.*, 1.10a, 2.18a.

314. *N.M.*, 3.119a : "Kena vā sā vidheya tvaṁ tannāṁ kathaya nārada/"

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CHAPTER - 5

FESTIVALS AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCES

The temple of Lord Jagannātha at Puri observes a number of festivals and ceremonies throughout the year. Usually the performance of Yātrās or festivals are instituted as per the prescriptions laid down in the *Dharma-Śāstra* works. People observe these festivals in the honour of the installed deities. They have the belief that the performance of festivals in the temples removes fear of fire, famine, flood and epidemic.[1] Therefore, people in large number flow to *ŚrīKṣetra* from different parts of our country as well as from abroad to witness the festivals or Yātrās celebrated in the temple of Lord Jagannātha.

The festivals of Lord Jagannātha are described more or less in the purāṇas like *Brahma, Padma, Skanda*, etc. In the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, however, we get a detailed account of festivals associated with the worship of Puruṣottama Jagannātha.[2] Excepting *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, all other works have emphasized on only twelve Yātrās of Lord Jagannātha.[3] These twelve festivals are often taken as :

1. Snāna Pūrṇimā
2. Ratha Yātrā
3. Śayanotsava
4. Two-Ayanotsavas
5. Pārśva Parivartana
6. Utthāpana Utsava
7. Prāvarṇa
8. Puṣyābhiṣeka
9. Dolotsava
10. Damana Bhañjikā
11. Akṣaya Tṛtīyā and
12. Yātrā Bhuvana

Yātrā Bhāgavata offers an account of these twelve festivals but follows a different chronology of the festivals. It does not begin with 'Snāna Yātrā' as other purāṇas do. It begins with 'Dola Yātrā'[4] and refers to many other festivals like Dīpāvali Amāvasyā, Jāgara (Śivarātri), the bathing festival, Janmāṣṭamī and the Rādhā-Dāmodara-worship.[5] *Padma-Purāṇa* also refers to some of the festivals like Ratha Yātrā, Śayana Mahotsava and Snāna Yātrā, etc.[6] But the speciality of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* lies in giving detailed descriptions of all other festivals including the famous twelve Yātrās of Lord Jagannātha as well as the mode of their observance.

The chronology of the festivals and ceremonies as depicted in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* is mentioned as follows :

1. Snāna Utsava in the month of Jyeṣṭha

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2. Aṇavasara or Aṇasara
3. Netrotsava
4. Ratha Yātrā in Āṣāḍha Śukḷa Dvitīyā
5. Herā Pañcamī
6. Worship of Ramā-Mādhava and Viśvadhātrī till the end of Ratha Yātrā at Puri
7. Bāhuḍā Yātrā
8. Śāyanī Yātrā
9. Garuḍa Śayana on Āṣāḍha Dvādaśī
10. Dakṣiṇāyana Yātrā
11. Citālāgi Amāvasyā in Śrāvaṇa
12. Baladeva Janmotsava
13. Svarṇarekhā-Dāna Utsava on Bhādrava Kṛṣṇa Pañcamī
14. Devakī Sāṅtvanā Utsava on Bhādrava Kṛṣṇa Saptamī
15. Sūtikāgṛha Nirmāṇa in Bhādrava Kṛṣṇāṣṭamī
16. Kṛṣṇa Janmāṣṭamī
17. Nandotsava on the Kṛṣṇa Navamī of Bhādrava
18. Avatāralīḷā Vidhi
19. Durgā Janmotsava
20. Saptapuri Amāvasyā in the month of Bhādrava
21. Lakṣmīvrata
22. Pārśvaparivartana Vidhi
23. Pavitrāropaṇa Vidhi
24. Vāmana Janmotsava
25. Śakradhvajotsava
26. Sahasra Kumbhābhiṣeka for Durgāpūjā
27. Durgā-Mādhava Pūjā
28. Aparājitā Daśamī
29. Lakṣmī-Dāmodara worship
30. Dyūtakrīḍa Utsava on the full moon night of Āśvina
31. Utthāpana Vidhi or rising ceremony
32. Dīpadāna in the month of Kārttika
33. Kṣetra Bhramaṇa
34. Prathamāṣṭamī
35. Navānna

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36. Dīpotsava on Kṛṣṇa Caturdaśī of Mārgaśīra
37. Vastrādhivāsa on Śukḷa Pañcamī of Mārgaśīra
38. Prāvaraṇa Utsava
39. Cūtāṅkura Pradāna Vidhi
40. Pusyābhiṣeka
41. Makara Saṁkrānti
42. Uttarāyaṇa Yātrā
43. Vasanta Pañcamī
44. Vasanta Bhramaṇa Vidhi
45. Phalgnotsava
46. Vahni Utsava
47. Dola Yātrā
48. Vanayāga Vidhi
49. Caitra Śukḷāṣṭamī
50. Rāma Janmotsava
51. Damanaka Yātrā
52. Mahāviṣuva Saṁkrānti
53. Candana Yātrā
54. Akṣaya Tṛtīyā (Rathānukūḷa)
55. Nṛsiṁha Janmotsava
56. Rājendrābhiṣeka
57. Rukmiṇī Haraṇa
58. Māyājaḷakeḷi
59. Rukmiṇī-Kṛṣṇa Vivāha
60. Rukmiṇī-Kṛṣṇa Bhramaṇa Līḷā

This list, thus, shows that the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* omits the unique ceremony of the 'Birth' and the 'Death' of the 'Lord of the Universe'. This ceremony is known as 'Navakalevara' - the new embodiment. It is observed for the periodical renewal of the wooden images in the Jagannātha-temple. According to *Śāstras*, this ceremony occurs after 'ten thousand years'[7] and involves a total replacement of the four worshipable images through the new ones. The old statues are then discarded and buried underground. In practice, the images are renewed latest after an interval of 19 years, sometimes even after 12 years. This is because of the fact that it is performed only in the year having two Āṣāḍhas.[8] The extra Āṣāḍha month is known as 'Puruṣottamamāsa' all over India. Navakalevara is not bound to take place everytime when this extra Āṣāḍha occurs in a year. It is an expensive affair and is performed only when necessary. As the temple of Lord Jagannātha does not observe this festival in every year, the

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Nīlādri-Mahodayam has omitted it while giving descriptions of all other festivals regularly instituted in the temple in every year.

Besides, our purāṇa speaks of Dvādaśa-Yātrā Vidhi[9] in its sixth chapter where it names these twelve festivals as under.[10]

1. Snāna Utsava in the month of Jyeṣṭha
2. Ratha Yātrā in the month of Āṣāḍha
3. Śayana-Yātra in Āṣāḍha
4. Ayana (Dakṣiṇāyana) Yātrā in the month of Śrāvaṇa
5. Pārśvaparivartana in the month of Bhādrava
6. Utthāpana Utsava in the month of Kārttika
7. Prāvaraṇa in the month of Mārgaśīra
8. Puṣyābhiṣeka in Pauṣa
9. Makara Saṁkrānti in Māgha
10. Dola Yātrā in Phālguna
11. Damanaka Yātrā in Caitra
12. Candana Yātrā in Vaiśākha

Now, we are going to describe all the festivals of Lord Jagannātha including the twelve main Yātrās. The special feature of this work is that it deals with the significance of such festivals in the temple of Lord Jagannātha.

Snāna Yātrā

Snāna Yātrā is the first of the annual festivals of Lord Jagannātha. According to the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, Lord Jagannātha was born during the month of Jyeṣṭha on Pūrṇimā or the full-moon day.[11] In the times of this Pūrṇimā, the Trinity of Lord Jagannātha is given the sacred bath[12] on a raised platform which is known as Snāna Vedī. The mention of this festival in *Naiṣadhīya Carita* of Śrīharṣa shows that the festival was famous in India even in the 12th century.

Formerly all the necessary materials for Snāna Yātrā were supplied by the king of Puri, but now-a-days the temple administrator takes every care to supply such materials which include the soil of the Ganges, lamps, fruit (cocoanut), durvā grass, flowers, gorocanā, mirror, curd, ghee, white mustard, perfumes, cloth, one hundred and eight jugs, thread, sandal wood, camphor, cuā, one hundred and eight cocoanuts, the same number of kariā (napkins), water mixed with camphor, new clothes, gadiprasāda, sari for Mahanta, lime water, etc. Besides, the other materials for the Hātī Veśa of the deities are also made ready. The temple servants like Paśu Pālaka, Mahājana, Sudusuāra, Carcāwālā, Patimahāpātra, Mudirasta, Pūjāpaṇḍā, Pāliā Mekāpa, Cāmukhuntiā, Cāngaḍā Mekāpa, Catāra, Ghantuā, Kāhāliā, Daitāpati, Sunā Gosein, Pāliā Pratihārī, Ghatuāri, Taḍāu Paṭṭanāyak, Bhaṇḍāra Mekāpa, Garābaḍu, Datta Mahāpātra, Suārabaḍu, Patribaḍu, Taḷicca Mahāpātra, Pradhāni, Bājāvālā (drummers), Tailor,

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Leṅkā, Paika, Pāliā-paśupālaka, Deuḷakaraṇa, Bhitara Chu Mahāpātra, Khaḍakā, Amaṇia Catāra, Gopāla Tīrtha Maṭha and Rāghava Dāsa Maṭha participate in the celebrations of this bathing festival of the deities.[13]

All sorts of necessary preparations are made ready before the Jyeṣṭha Pūrṇimā of every year. On the day of Snāna Pūrṇimā, the images of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā along with the image of Sudarśana are carried in a procession to Snāna Vedī. This procession is called Pahaṇḍi or Pahaṇḍi-Vijaya. The term 'Pahaṇḍi' has been derived from the Sanskrit word Padahuṇḍana - meaning walking slowly by steps. According to Pandit Binayak Mishra, it has been derived from the word Praspaṇḍa.[14] Sometimes, Pāṇḍya Vijaya is considered as the root of this term.[15] The Snāna Vedī (bathing platform) is decorated with pictures of jewel-trees, flowers, flags and toraṇas. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* mentions white and black umbrellas, beautiful cāmaras, trāsas and candrātapas for use.[16] All kinds of perfumes, dhūpas, etc., are offered to the deities. The procession of the deities to the Snāna Maṇḍapa is accompanied with musicians and drummers, etc., who play with various indigenous musical instruments such as Śaṁkha, Ghaṇṭā, Mardaḷa, Kāhāḷa and produce sweet musical notes.[17] People flow in large number towards Snāna Maṇḍapa to witness the bathing of the deities, which is performed during the dawn of the day.

On the previous day of Snāna Pūrṇimā, i.e., on the 14th day of Śukḷa Pakṣa in the month of Jyeṣṭha, water is brought from the well situated infront of the goddess 'Śītaḷā'. This well is popularly known as Sunākuā in which the water of all the tīrthas of India are stored together. The opening face of this well is closed throughout the year. But, in the previous night of Snāna Pūrṇimā, the well is opened. One hundred and eight golden, copper and brass pots[18] filled with its water are brought and preserved in the Adhivāsagṛha.[19] According to *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, each such pot is filled with hundred paḷas of water.[20] The responsibility of bringing water from Sunākuā and preserving it in the Adhivāsagṛha is entrusted to Suvarṇa Gosvāmī, who is said to be the master of all the closest servants of the Lords. *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* mentions that the 'Jaḷādhivāsa' is performed after the third part of the night preceding the day of Snāna Pūrṇimā.[21]

On the Snāna Pūrṇimā day, the vessels filled with water from Sunākuā are brought to the Snāna Vedī. Before the images of the deities are taken to the Snāna Vedī, they are offered red powder. Then, the bodies of the images are covered with red clothes.[22] Water is poured from the vessels on the images of the three deities with simultaneous chanting of praṇava hymns and the relevant mantras. Our purāṇa describes that the water for bathing of the deities is prepared by mixing candana with water of Sunākuā in a proportion 6:10.[23] Three such pots of water are made ready for the separate bath of the deities.[24]

Significance

The Snāna Yātrā of Lord Jagannātha has manyfold significances. Firstly, Lord Jagannātha is the symbol of Kāḷa or of the year. According to astrological calculations, the Indian year begins with the Jyeṣṭha Pūrṇimā and hence the festivals of Lord Jagannātha starts with Snāna Yātrā. In ancient India, the year (varṣa) began with the onset of the rainy season (varṣā kāḷa).

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The word 'varṣa' has been thus followed from the word 'varṣā'. The astrologers calculate the lunar month in two ways. One begins with 'Amāvasyā', while the other with 'Pūrṇimā'. Though, the Amāvasyā-start is more popular, the Pūrṇimānta calculations make the year to begin with the day of the full-moon in the month of Jyeṣṭha.[25] This Pūrṇimā marks the birthday of Jagannātha-Kāḷa, when rain comes to him and he takes his bath therein.

After the bath, the deities are dressed in such a way that together they appear like the image of Gaṇeśa.[26] This is called Hātī Veśa or Gaṇeśa Rūpa of Lord Jagannātha. Generally, the deity Gaṇeśa is worshipped at the beginning of every religious rite and ritualistic worship. Because of this reason, Lord Jagannātha is decorated as Gaṇeśa during this time. Often Gaṇeśa is considered as a form of Viṣṇu and the symbol of jñāna (wisdom). As Śrī Jagannātha is the only form of Brahmajñāna and the non-imagery Brahma, He (the Lord) takes the shape of Gajānana. According to other considerations, the generous bath washes out the colours of the images. Therefore, to conceal their ugliness, their dresses are so manipulated that they give the look of 'Gaṇeśa' and the devotees do not observe the discoloration resulting from the bath of the deities. It is said in *Dārḍhyatā Bhakti* that Gaṇapati Bhaṭṭa, a staunch devotee of Lord Gaṇeśa, once came to Puri during Snāna Yātrā. He had no faith upon the gods other than Gaṇeśa. So, he refused to see Lord Jagannātha. Knowing his feelings, the Lord appeared before him as a Brahmin and called upon him to visit Snāna Yātrā of Jagannātha. To the surprise of all, Lord Jagannātha gave Darśana to the scholar in the form of Gaṇeśa and then Gaṇapati Bhaṭṭa's faith in the god was established.[27] Therefore, during the Snāna Yātrā, the deities are dressed like Gaṇeśa.

After the performance of the rituals on the Snāna Vedī, the deities enter into Śrīmandira by way of Pahaṇḍi. During this time, the images of the deities are brought facing south and while in the inner Veḍhā, Vibhīṣaṇa-vandāpanā is performed. Patimahāpātra worships the Lord on behalf of Vibhīṣaṇa. In the age of Tretā, Vibhīṣaṇa prayed Rāmacandra to allow him to serve the Śrī-Aṅga. Being satisfied with His devotee, the Lord permitted Vibhīṣaṇa to do so in the *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra* on the day of Snāna Utsava. Accordingly, the ritual is performed with the observance of Snāna Yātrā.

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, delineating the Snāna Utsava, highlights its unique significance. During this festival, who, ever visits the deities with much devotions, earns 'dharma' to a greater extent. The 'darśana' of Lord Jagannātha in every step is as fruitful as Aśvamedha Yajña. Having a visit to the deities, people at once achieve all types of success what they will for and after death they go to Vaikuṇṭha Bhavana.[28] The purāṇa also describes that the gods of heaven, when visits Lord Jagannātha on the day of Snāna Utsava become successful.[29]

Aṇavasara

Starting from the day following the great bathing festival, the images of the deities are kept away from public view for fifteen days.[30] This first half of the Āṣāḍha is used every year for the repainting of the discolored images and for making the necessary annual repairs on them. This period is called 'Aṇavasara', during which the images of Lord Jagannātha and others are kept on the Ratna Vedī inside the temple without proper daily worship. The sanctum

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is closed and the people are deprived of the darśana of the deities[31] who are popularly believed to be 'sick'. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, in its 15th chapter gives a clear description of Aṇavasara worship of the deities.

The deities in the Jagannātha temple are not made of wood solely. In fact, the wood supplies only the basic structure on which seven layers such as resin, sandal wood and cloth pieces, etc., are wrapped around. Some of these layers are opened every year[32] and renewed at the time of Aṇavasara. New paints are then supplied on them.

During the period of Aṇavasara, a class of temple servants take charge of the deities. They are known as the Daitās and are believed to be the descendants of the Śabara Chief 'Viśvāvasu'. They are responsible for all the rites concerning the deities during the Aṇavasara period. Besides the Daitāpati, the other temple servants like Taḍāu Pattanāyak, Deuḷa Karaṇa, Cāṅgaḍā Mekāpa, Koṭha Suansia, Painter, Pūjā Paṇḍā, Dakṣiṇa Dvāra Padhiārī, Pāliā Muduli, Bhandāra Mekāpa, Pradhāni, etc., look after the deities. Śrīkapaḍā, Bāunśa Tāṭi (a mat made of bamboo), Pañcāmṛta, oil, sweet water and cloth are used for the function of Aṇavasara.[33] The Daitās colour the images and make suitable decorations. They offer to the deities only fruits and water mixed with cheese. But the deities are worshipped in the form of a portrait which is fixed on the wall of Aṇavasara-gṛha. All kinds of offerings are made to this portrait. Such type of worship of the deities inside the chamber of Aṇavasara[34] is called the secret-worship or gupta-pūjā. According to Śāstrācāra, any sort of pomp and ceremony which includes singing, dancing, drumming and chanting purāṇas are banned during this gupta-pūjā.[35] Above all, the observance of silence is the main duty during the period of Aṇavasara. As prescribed by the different *Śāstras*, there are fifteen rules to follow. These rules include the prohibition of talking with each other, singing, drumming, dancing, expressing words out of anger, producing sound, beating wood or stone, sexual contact, using cosmetics, using tiḷaka dots, using garlands, describing *Puruṣottama-Māhātmya*, using bell during worship and drawing picture of the deities. But chanting Nṛsiṁha mantra is marked as the speciality during the period.[36]

Significance

It is popularly believed that the deities like the ordinary mortals, fall ill after the cold-water bath taken by them on the day of Snāna Pūrṇimā. Consequently, they are treated by the Rāja Vaidya or the king physician with a specific medicine. During this time, it is not desirable to see the deities as they are advised complete bed-rest for fifteen days. As already stated earlier, the images of the deities are discolored as a result of the sacred bath, which deprives them of their beauty and splendour. So, the images of the deities are kept away from the public view for fifteen days. During these fifteen days, the 'Daitās' colour the images and make suitable decorations.

During the period of Aṇavasara, the worship of Āllavandāra Nātha at Puri is very much significant. In the words of common people the deity is known as Alavelā Nātha or Alāla Nātha. Once in the month of Āṣāḍha, Āllavandāra Ācārya[37] came to Puri to visit Lord Jagannātha. This was the time of Aṇavasara. He could not have the 'darśana' of the deity. Being disappointed with sorrow, he decided to commit suicide in the sea without the 'darśana'

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of Lord Jagannātha. Knowing the feelings of His devotee, Antaryāmī appeared before him. Āllavandāra Ācārya became surprised to see the disfigure of the deity and felt very much for the same. He prayed the god not to appear in such a form which is too painful to the devotees. Being satisfied with his 'Bhakti', Lord Jagannātha appeared before him in the original form with all His splendour and the weapons (Āyudhas). This image of Śrīmannārāyaṇa (Lord Jagannātha) became famous in the name of Āllavandāra Nātha. From that time, it is the custom of visiting this deity during the Aṇavasara period.[38]

According to the descriptions given in our purāṇa, one should not visit Lord Jagannātha during the period of Aṇavasara. On the other hand, visiting the deities during that period, one goes to hell among with one's forefathers and continues to be there for thousands of Yugas.[39]

On the 12th day of Aṇavasara, the bodies of the deities are rubbed with 'candana' in order to remove vices from the world. The people, who serve the deities during the Aṇavasara period, become free from all sorts of sins as well as from the severe diseases like leprosy. Seeing the face of Lord Jagannātha one becomes the inhabitant of Vaikuṇṭha.[40]

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* mentions that the inhabitants from three Lokas (Svarga, Martya, Pātāla), who think of the deities with sacred devotion, become free from the ocean of wordly life.[41]

Netrotsava

The period of Aṇavasara covers a fortnight during which the colouring and decorations of the images are finalized. On the 16th day the images become fit for being worshipped in their new forms after renovation. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* describes that the worshipped portrait of the deities during the period of Aṇavasara is given 'Visarjana' after the third part of the night of 'Pañcadaśī'[42] and on the next day, the newly coloured and decorated images first appear to their devotees. The festival of first appearance of Lord Jagannātha to His devotees is known as 'Netrotsava'. In fact, the images become suitable for worship only after the performance of the rites for opening of the eyes.[43] Then, the first appearance of the deities is called 'Navayauvana darśana' as the deities are said to have got new life.

Significance

Our purāṇa mentions that anybody, who takes part in 'Netrotsava' and visits the deities, becomes immediately free from wordly pains and sufferings.[44] Describing the māhātmya of 'Navayauvana darśana', the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* speaks that the visit to 'Navayauvana' of Lord Jagannātha on the day of 'Netrotsava' is rare even to the gods.[45]

The deities like the ordinary mortals get recovery from their sickness caused due to the cold-water bath taken on the day of Snāna Pūrṇimā. The recovery comes after fifteen days and when the deities open their eyes. Actually, on completion of the painting of the eyes after body-colouring, the images of the deities become suitable for worship and open for public view.[46] The event of first appearance of Lord Jagannātha, thus synchronises with 'Netrotsava'.

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Ratha Yātrā

On the first day of the bright fortnight of the month of Āṣāḍha, Lord Jagannātha, in His Navayauvana form, appears to His devotees and the next day the famous Ratha Yātrā or the car-festival is observed at Puri. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* mentions that the Ghoṣa-Yātrā (car-festival) is held on the Āṣāḍha Śukḷa Dvitīyā,[47] which is known as 'ŚrīGuṇḍicā'.[48] Every year this festival is observed with much pomp and ceremony[49] and, on this occasion people from different corners of India as well as from abroad assemble at Puri to visit Lord Jagannātha.

The Concept of Ratha

The very concept of Rathas goes back to the period of the *Vedas*. The *Ṛgveda* mentions the three-storeyed Rathas drawn by horses.[50] These Rathas, according to *Ṛgveda*, moved in air.[51] Two types of Rathas are mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa. One is called 'Puṣya' and the other one is called 'Marut'. 'Puṣya' was used in the games whereas the 'Marut' was employed by the gods.[52] The concept of Ratha is also found in the *Mahābhārata, Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, Kauṭilya-Arthaśāstra* and *Śukra Nīti*.[53] Pāṇini analyses the words 'Rathastha', 'Rathagaṇaka', etc., and refers to 'Ratha'.[54] The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[55] speaks of an interesting legend regarding the origin of the 'Ratha'. According to this, the car (Ratha) originated on earth right from the battle between Indra (the king of heaven) and the demon Bhrutrāsura. When Indra violently flung the weapon of lightning on the body of the demon, the weapon was divided into four parts. The third part was metamorphosed into a chariot (Ratha). Dr. K.C. Mishra opines that the term 'Ratha' possibly gained currency from that time.[56]

In the *Upaniṣads*, the concept of Ratha has been philosophized. The body is compared to a car (Ratha) and the soul to its charioteer.[57] The mention of the chariots is also found in the Buddhist literature, specially in *Lalita Vistara* and *Buddha Carita*.[58] But nowhere in these works, the Rathas are alluded to Lord Jagannātha or His car festival.

The Background of Car Festival

The observance of the car festival of Lord Jagannātha dates as far back as the purāṇas. Vivid descriptions of this festival are found in *Brahma-Purāṇa, Padma-Purāṇa* and in *Skanda-Purāṇa*.[59] *Kapila-Saṁhitā* also refers to Ratha Yātrā.[60] The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* in its 16th chapter elaborately describes the car festival of Lord Jagannātha.

As the Ratha Yātrā is also known as Guṇḍicā Yātrā, many critics suggest the very origin of the term 'Guṇḍicā'. According to some, the word 'Guṇḍicā' has been derived from 'Guḍisā' or 'Kundijā', which means 'Dāru'. Lord Jagannātha is thus a Dāru-Devatā.[61] Dr. H.K. Mahatab, while searching for the origin of 'Guṇḍicā, opines that the word is of Drāvidian origin. In Telugu, Guiḍisā means a cottage (kuṭīra).[62] But, nowhere in literature, the word is used in such a sense. Some of the purāṇas refer to 'Guṇḍicā Maṇḍapa'[63] which does not mean a cottage. Hence, the derivation of the word 'Guṇḍicā' from Drāvidian Guḍisā is not too convincing. Dr. B. Padhi, while suggesting the term 'Guṇḍicā to have been derived from the

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'Śabara' word 'Kundijā', seeks to prove the Śabara origin of the car festival. 'Kun' is a word found in the language of the Śabaras. 'Kun' means 'He' and 'Dijā' stands for the stem of a tree. According to Dr. Padhi's opinion, initially Lord Jagannātha was worshipped as the stem of a tree in Guṇḍicā Maṇḍapa. Then the Lord was brought to Śrīmandira and installed as the Trinity.[64] Thus, Jagannātha is associated with the tribal deity and the festivals are associated with those observed by the Śabaras. But, according to a popular legend, Guṇḍicā Yātrā has been named after Guṇḍicā, the queen of Indradyumna, who built the Jagannātha temple. The legend says that the queen requested the king to organize this festival in order to enable the sinners and the untouchables, who are ordinarily devoid of their entrance to the temple, to have 'darśanas' of Lord Jagannātha for attaining salvation.[65]

As described in the *Utkala-Khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda-Purāṇa*, the images of the three deities, Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā were made at Guṇḍicā Maṇḍapa after thousand horse sacrifices, performed by Indradyumna. This Guṇḍicā Maṇḍapa is then called Mahāvedī,[66] which, according to *Skanda-Purāṇa*, is the birthplace of Jagannātha's Trinity.[67] Guṇḍicā House is situated at a distance of one and half miles from the Jagannātha temple. It is variously called Mahāvedī, Yajñamaṇḍapa, Janma Sthāna, Janaka Purī and Guṇḍicā Maṇḍapa. Following *Puruṣottama-Māhātmyam*, Pandit S.N. Das narrates that the King Indradyumna, at first, installed the deity Nṛsiṁha here and then performed the sacrifices.[68] Consequently, this place is also known as *Nṛsiṁha-Kṣetra*.[69] At present, the temple of Nṛsiṁha stands near the Guṇḍicā House. According to the descriptions laid down in the *Puruṣottama-Māhātmyam* of *Skanda-Purāṇa*, Lord Jagannātha wills to go to his birth-place (Mahāvedī or Guṇḍicā Maṇḍapa), situated on the bank of Indradyumna Sara,[70] once in every year. Being pleased with the King Indradyumna, the god further declares to stay there for a week. The festival lasts for nine days, because the god takes one day to go to Guṇḍicā Mandira and another day to return to Śrīmandira. Lord Jagannātha stays on the Mahāvedī for seven days and during this period the Lord takes his ten shapes (Daśa Avatāra Veśa). Therefore, the car festival is also known as Navadina Yātrā, Mahāvedī Yātrā or Daśa Avatāra Yātrā of Lord Jagannātha.

The car festival was introduced after the wooden images of the deities, Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā came into existence. It was not known by that time when the god Jagannātha was worshipped by the Śabara Viśvāvasu in the form of Nīlamādhava. Dr. G.N. Mahapatra holds that the car festival was organized to transport the wooden images of the deities to the temple of Lord Jagannātha.[71]

At times, the car festival of Lord Jagannātha has been sought to be associated with Jainism. This is because of the fact that the Jaina saints, like Ṛṣabha Deva, Neminātha, etc., moved about in chariots. It is also mentioned in the Jaina works that the festival was celebrated in the honour of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkara, Jīvanta Svāmī during the reign of the ancient King Samprati.[72]

Again, many eminent scholars like Hunter, R.L. Mitra, Bishen Swarupa and Dr. Mahatab, etc., have tried to link the origin of the car festival of Lord Jagannātha with Buddhistic ceremonials. The only cause behind such arguments is that Lord Buddha himself travelled by chariots and the Buddhists observe the tooth festival. But, there are instances of the ritualistic use of chariots in Hinduism from the Vedic and Upaniṣadic periods. During the time of

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installation of a deity in a temple, the deity is taken in a chariot to circumambulate the temple three times. As mentioned in the *Atharva Veda*, the gods use chariots to descend.[73]

As pointed out by Dr. Mahatab, the car festival of Puri is an imitation of the Buddhistic festival of Siṁhala. But we mark dissimilarities between the two. In Ceylon, the tooth of Buddha is, in fact, carried on the back of an elephant, whereas at Puri, they use three chariots to carry the images. This festival at Puri begins on the 2nd day of the bright fortnight of 'Āṣāḍha' while in Siṁhala the celebrations are held on the thirteenth day of the same fortnight of 'Vaiśākha'. In the Hindu tradition, Āṣāḍha is esteemed as a sacred month, since Viṣṇu sleeps on the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of this month. Thus, it seems the car festival of Puri is not an imitation of the Buddhistic festival of Siṁhala.

It is known from 'Nīḷapurāṇa' that the Buddhist festival is celebrated from Vaiśākha Pūrṇimā to Maghā Nakṣetra. Accordingly, this text is silent about Āṣāḍha Śukḷa Dvitīyā.[74] Therefore, the car festival of Lord Jagannātha can not be called with certainty, the Buddhist festival as the significance of Āṣāḍha Śukḷa Dvitīyā is not proved from the Buddhistic texts.

Yet another attempt has been made to link the Ratha Yātrā of Puri with the Buddhist car festival held at Khotān. Basing upon Fahien's graphic account of the car festival at Khotān, scholars have tried to establish the Buddhistic origin of the car festival of Lord Jagannātha. The book '*Travels of Fahien*' vividly describes the festive scene of Khotān. The text mentions that the king, at the approach of the images to the city gate, puts on new clothes and walk on bare foot with flowers and incense in his hands. The attendants of the king cover each side and march ahead with the king. On meeting the images, the king bows his head down to the ground, scatters the flowers and lights the incense.[75] Thus, the nature of the service, which the king of Khotān rendered to his deity was altogether different from that of the king of Puri. The service rendered by the king of Puri to Lord Jagannātha during car festival is called 'Cherā Pahanrā'. It is evident that the peculiar role of the king of Khotān can not appropriately be compared with this 'Cherā Pahanrā'. Further, the timings of the two festivals were also different. The 'Cherā Pahanrā' was introduced at the time of Anaṅgabhīmadeva in the 12th century when Jagannātha came to be regarded as a state deity and the king as his servant, while Fahien's observance of the festive scene in Khotān relates to the fourth century.

According to some arguments, Fahien in 399 A.D. and Hiuen Tsang in 629 A.D., visited India and were unaware of the car festival of Puri.[76] This does not mean that the car festival of Lord Jagannātha could not have existed till then. Actually the festival was started from 3rd century, when King Pāṇḍyavijaya transferred the images from Sundarācala to Nīlācala.[77] Hence, it may so happen that the two foreigners might not have visited Puri during the car festival and as a result could not have the opportunity to see it.

Various types of Ratha Yātrās are being observed from ancient times. The time of observance of the car festival at one place coincides with that at the other place. For instance, the 'Kumārī Ratha Yātrā' of Nepal[78] has its parallels with the Bhairava Ratha Yātrā, Netādevī Ratha Yātrā and various other Ratha Yātrās performed in Sicily, Shimla, etc. Bhubaneswar celebrates Ratha Yātrā festival in honour of Lord Liṅgarāja. The performance of the car festival at Koṇārka was also known in ancient times. Similarly, the date of the Jagannātha

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Yātrā observed in the 3rd century also coincides with the Buddha-Danta-Ratha Yātrā celebrated at Dantapura and Siṁhala by the king of Magadha 'Guhaśiva'.[79] Undoubtedly, each Ratha Yātrā has its own individuality and origin. Again, the use of Rathas (chariots) is mentioned in the entire mass of traditional literature, such as *Vedas, Upaniṣads, Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata* and the purāṇas. It is thus logical to follow that the car festival of Lord Jagannātha has its own individuality and origin. It should not at anytime be considered that the car festival of Lord Jagannātha originated from Buddhism or Jainism.

As the Jagannātha Cult is a synthesis of Āryan and Non-Āryan cultures, Dr. K.C. Mishra has pointed out some of the remarkable Śabara influence on the car festival. Before the dragging of the cars by multitudes, the dresses worn by the deities are of Śabara tradition. The services rendered by the Daitāpatis to the deities the car festival are also Śabara based.[80] It has been sought that the Daitāpatis are descendants of Śabara families. Viśvāvasu, the Śabara-great, originally worshipped the deity in the form of Nīlamādhava and the Āryan King Indradyumna afterwards installed the Dāru-Brahma at Nīlācala in its present form. Though the Śabaras believe Jagannātha to be the descendant of Lord Kṛṣṇa, the God was really Āryanized by the King Indradyumna and the car festival was introduced by the king to transfer the half-built deities from Guṇḍicā House to Śrīmandira.[81]

Description of the Chariots

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* mentions three different chariots for the deities Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā. To distinguish among them, the purāṇa further adds that the chariot of Vāsudeva (Lord Jagannātha) is identified by its Garuḍa.[82] It is therefore called 'Garuḍadhvaja'. The golden coloured chariot is known as 'Padmadhvaja' which is the chariot of Subhadrā.[83] Balabhadra's chariot is called 'Tāladhvaja'[84]. As described in this purāṇa, these chariots in general are decorated with various ornaments. They consist different flags, covers and banners (dhvaja).[85]

The purāṇa does not go deep into the architectural design of the three chariots. It only mentions that each chariot is provided with four gate-ways.[86] The chariots are added with beautiful clothes and ornaments.[87] The various deeds of the Lord during His different incarnations are carved on the chariots and the charioteer of each car is placed on beautiful horses.[88]

Besides these above general descriptions, we find a lot of differences in the present forms of the chariots of Lord Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā. The different shapes of the cars symbolize the Jagannātha Tattva and Darśana and hence, in all ages become the main source of discussion among the critics of the world. It will be wise enough to take up here the constructional specifications employed in the Rathas used for the car festival of Lord Jagannātha.

The construction as well as the final consecration of the Rathas or the chariots bear great religious importance. The construction of the Rathas begins with the Vanayāga ceremony on the day of Akṣaya Tṛtīyā and the Rathas are made only of sāḷa wood. Formerly, the Rājā of Dasapalla was supplying the wood, but now-a-days the Government of Orissa supplies it.

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Nandighoṣa

The car of Lord Jagannātha is popularly known as 'Nandighoṣa' and hence the car festival is called 'Ghoṣa-Yātrā'. As mentioned earlier, Garuḍadhvaja is the other name of the chariot. The charioteer of this car is known as Mātali. The chariot 'Nandighoṣa' stands 45 feet high and is supported on 16 wheels each with a diameter of 7 feet and is beautifully painted in yellow. The presiding Ṛṣi of this chariot is 'Pāṇḍu'. The four horses are known as Saṅkhikā, Rocikā, Mocikā and Fwālinī. There are sixteen Aras or axles representing sixteen Kaḷās. It is interesting to note that Lord Jagannātha's car had sixteen wheels instead of the usual four. No wonder then that the war-chariots described in the *Rāmāyaṇa* had eight wheels.[89]

In 'Nandighoṣa', the 'Rathādhipa' is 'Vainateya-Garuḍa', while the protector of the chariot is 'Bhairava Nṛsiṁha'. Our purāṇa mentions that the banner of Nandighoṣa is the Akṣaḥ (Garuḍa).[89A] Its door-keepers are 'Jaya' and 'Vijaya'. The covering cloth of the chariot is yellow and red in colour. The Ratha Śakti is 'Vimaḷā'. The nine 'Parśva Devatās' of 'Nandighoṣa' are Rāghavendra, Garuḍadhvaja, Narasiṁha, Varāha, Vāsudeva, Cintāmaṇi Kṛṣṇa, Goverdhana Dhāri Kṛṣṇa, Rāghava sitting on the monkey and five-faced Hanumāna. The name of the 'Ratha Pīṭha' is 'Kanaka Mañcā'. The canopy thereon is known as 'Kanaka-Muṇḍāi'. The chief deities are 'Śiva' and 'Birañci'. The colour of the horses is white and they are known as 'Sovya', 'Sugrīva', 'Megha Puṣpa', 'Valāhaka', 'Rathaddāra' and 'Bhairavī'. The defenders are Indra and Indrāṇī. The Devadāsīs of the chariot are 'Pulomocā' and 'Urvaśī'. The Ratha-Bhairava is Ghantā Karṇa. Ṛṣis occupying the chariot are Ambarīṣa, Jaiminī, Nārada, Aṁgīrā, Pāndra, Mārkaṇḍeya, Paulastya and Bhārgava. The name of the bell-capital is Hiraṇyagarbha. The two parrots are known as 'Jīva' and 'Parama'. The three jugs attached to the staff of the banner are named as 'Nabhaḥ', 'Ākāśa' and 'Śūnya'. The maker of the chariot is 'Viśva Karmā', the cakra is 'Sudarśana' and the name of the 'Neta' is 'Unmanā'. The number of the wooden parts used in this chariot is seven hundred and forty-two. The Ratha Ratna is a crystal called Sphaṭika. The gods who occupy the chariot are 'Madana Mohana' and 'Jagannātha'.

Tāladhvaja

As has been already stated, the car of Lord Balabhadra is named as 'Tāḷadhvaja'. Baladeva is the incarnation of 'Śeṣa', the holy infinite serpent on whom Lord Viṣṇu takes rest. It is said that Lord Balabhadra places a mirror of wisdom on His altar below and receives a view of the entire universe through that. As the mirror is placed below (tala) it is called 'tāla'. Besides, pure and transparent qualities of the mirror are symbolically observed in Lord Balabhadra Himself, who is, therefore designated as 'Tālāṅka'. Thus the car is named as 'Tāladhvaja'. The outline of a mirror is perpetually found in the banner of the car.

Balabhadra's car is 44 feet high and the covering cloth is blue and red. This car is supported on 14 wheels, which indicate the life time of Brahmā involving Caturdaśa-manvantara. Balabhadra is the Lord of this gross material world, and has, therefore, a huge body. He is thus Virāṭa. There are 14 Kaḷās or wheels representing the fourteen worlds. The Aras are 14 in number. The presiding Ṛṣi is Aṅgirā. The Rathādhipa is Bṛhat Nāsa. The preserver of the

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chariot is 'Ādiśeṣa'. The gate-keepers are 'Atiśīḷa' and 'Suśīḷa'. The Ratha Śakti is 'Jaya-Durgā'. The Pārśva Devatās here are Harihara, Nātāmbara, Gajāntaka, Tripurāri, Praḷambāri, Rudra, Gaṇeśa, Tryambaka and Skanda. The name of the Ratha Pīṭha is 'Kaiḷāśa'. The canopy over head is known as Kanaka Mekhalā. The charioteer is 'Dāruka'. The name of the horses are Śaṁkha, Sucitra, Aṅgada and Meghanāda. The eight Ṛṣis, like Ambarīṣa, etc., occupy the chairs meant for the ascetics. The bell-capital is known as 'Bhuvana Koṣa'. The names of two parrots are 'Dvāsuparṇa'. The three jugs fixed to the staff of the banner are known as 'Candra', 'Sūrya' and 'Vidyut'. The 'Cakra' is called 'Kāḷa Saṁhāra', though some call it 'Pināka'. The name of the 'Neta' is 'Unmanā'. The maker of the chariot is 'Maya Dānava'. The number of the wooden parts used is 731. The deities who occupy the chariot, are 'Śaṁkarṣaṇa', 'Rāma' and 'Kṛṣṇa Gopāla'. The Ratha Ratna is emerald.

Sometimes, the chariot of Balabhadra is also called as 'Lāṅgaḷadhvaja'.[90] This is because the chariot is made of 'Saptaccadā wood' and the banner displayed atop the chariot bears the symbol of a ploughing machine (Lāṅgaḷa).[91]

Devadalana

The car of goddess 'Subhadrā' is called 'Padmadhvaja', 'Devadalana', 'Darpadalana', 'Devīdalana' or simply 'Devi Ratha'. Goddess Lakṣmī who is identified with Subhadrā is again called Padmā (the goddess on the lotus). Subhadrā represents wealth, prosperity and grace (Śree). Hence, there is the lotus profile in the banner of her car and it is called 'Padmadhvaja'[91A] too. Its height from the ground is 43 feet. The two colours in the covering cloth are red and black. This chariot has 12 wheels representing the twelve months. The Kaḷās are twelve in number. It has 12 axles or Aras.

The chariot of Subhadrā is made of 'Padma Kāṣṭha'.[92] The charioteer is known as 'Devadatta'. Harihara is the preserver of this chariot where 'Jaya Durgā' is its overlord. The two gate-keepers are 'Gaṅgā' and 'Yamunā'. The Ratha Pīṭha is known as 'Kāmpalya' and the canopy is called Vīraghantā. The charioteer is known as Devadatta. The horses of the car are red in colour and are known as 'Rocikā', 'Mocikā', 'Citragrīva' and 'Sukarṇakā'. There is also a place provided for the ascetics and the famous Ṛṣis occupy it. The presiding Ṛṣi is Yājñabalka. The bell-capital is known as 'Hiraṇmayī'. The three banner jugs are known as 'Parā', 'Aparā', and 'Vaikharī'. The 'Cakra' is Dīpta' and the 'Neta' is called 'Unmanā'. The maker of this chariot is 'Kāḷanemī'. The Ratha Śakti is 'Sudarśana'. Candra-Ghantā also acts as its 'Ratha Śakti'. Subhadrā and Sudarśana rightfully occupy this car. The number of wooden parts used in the construction of this chariot is 711.[93]

Though 'Padma Kāṣṭha' and 'Saptaccadā' wood, etc., are prescribed by the *Puruṣottama-Māhātmyam* for making the chariots, the wood, now-a-days, used for the construction of the Rathas is śāḷa. This is due to the fact that both of the prescribed wood is rarely available in Orissa.

Rituals observed during the Car Festival

The chariots, after completion are brought to the 'Siṁha Dvāra' (the Lion's Gate) of Jagannātha temple before the day of the car festival. Facing north, the chariots at the 'Siṁha

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Dvāra' stand in readiness for the car festival. The chariots are arranged in a row. Balabhadra's car is placed nearest to the Lion's Gate. This is followed by the chariots of Subhadrā and Jagannātha. The first ritual observed after completion of the Rathas, is the 'Ratha Pratiṣṭhā'. Our purāṇa the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* describes each and every part of this ritual in its fifth chapter (Adhyāya). In the Aiśānya corner of the chariot, one hand wide altar is designed where a beautiful 'Maṇḍala' is prepared.[94] A lotus flower having thirty-six petals is figured. Thus, the god 'Varuṇa' is first worshipped.[95] After the completion of 'Saṁkalpa Vidhi' and 'Ācārya-Brāhmaṇa Varaṇa',[95] a sacred water-pot is placed on the 'Maṇḍala'.[96] A piece of new cloth is offered to the pot at its neck and mango-leaves with a cocoanut together are placed on the face of the water-pot. With flags near it, the 'Kalaśa' is founded with the water of many tīrthas in it.[98] Then, the god Narasiṁha is worshipped there.[99] In the *Vāyu* corner of the water-pot so founded, oblations to gods are offered by throwing ghee into the consecrated fire.[100] The 'Homa' is fulfilled by enchanting the mantras one thousand and eight times.[101]

The worship of the 'dhvajas' is performed with much sanctity and holiness. Then, the Ācārya Brāhmin, pronouncing mantras, takes the 'dhvaja' and 'kalaśa' towards the chariots and near the chariots he reads Vedic Sūktas. He places the dhvajas on the cars and worships them.[102] The car of Lord Jagannātha is worshipped by Anuṣṭubh mantra, the car of Subhadrā by Ekākṣara mantra and the car of Balabhadra by Dvādaśākṣara mantra.[103] After foundation of the chariots, the gods Sūrya, Marut, Vasu, Aśvini, Suparna, Rudra, Pannaga, Navagrahas, the Dikpāḷas and the Kṣetrapāḷas, etc., are welcomed and worshipped.[104] The three Rathas, thus, become ready for riding by the deities.

On the day before Āṣāḍha Śukḷa Dvitīyā, the wake up ritual is observed in the temple.[105] After the deities woke up in the night, the temple servants belonging to the family of Viśvāvasu and Vidyāpati take care of them.[106] The daily-bath of the deities is performed as usual and then the early morning worship is instituted.[107] The ritual observed in the night before Ratha Yātrā is known as 'Senāpaṭā' and the number of worships performed in the early morning are Maṅgaḷa Āḷati, Mailama, Taḍapalāgi and Avakāsa, etc. Soon after these usual daily rituals are over, the three images are richly decorated. The Homa ritual is performed in the great kitchen of Jagannātha and is followed by 'Sūrya Pūjā' and 'Dvārapāḷa Pūjā'. Thereafter, the offerings of 'Koṭha Bhoga', comprising 'Khecuḍi', 'Piṭhā', 'Tākuā', etc., are made to the deities. The worship is performed in the sixteen upacāras. Then the 'Maṅgaḷārpaṇa'[108] ritual is performed by the temple servants, like 'Paṇḍā', 'Pati Mahāpātra', 'Mudirasta'. Morning 'Dhūpa' and 'Vallabha' are observed. After completion of all these rituals, the images are moved from their respective seats on the 'Ratna Siṁhāsana'.

Very slowly the deities are taken to the chariots. Our purāṇa mentions the slow movement of the deities.[109] Thereby, the purāṇa refers to the movement by steps which is popularly called 'Pahaṇḍi Vijaya'. This Pahaṇḍi function is accompanied by dance, music and the stuti of the Brāhmins.[110] While the deities are moved to the chariots from the temple, they are profusely adorned with floral crowns. As the images are carried in a row, the movement is also called 'Dhāḍi-Pahaṇḍi'. During Pahaṇḍi Vijaya, the swinging motion of Lord Jagannātha is very much attractive. In the 'Pahaṇḍi Vijaya', Sudarśana is appeared first. He comes through the Jagamohana of the temple. When Sudarśana crosses seven steps of the famous 'twenty-two'

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steps (Bāisipāvaccha) of the temple, Balabhadra (Baḍa Thākura) follows him. And when Balabhadra crosses seven steps, emerges Subhadrā. Likewise, when She reaches the seventh step Jagannātha joins the great procession. The 'Pahaṇḍi' continues till they are placed in their respective chariots. In this respect, the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* mentions that the deities acquire their seats in their respective chariots after going around the chariots and this function is held early in the morning.[111] The purāṇa further states that the 'Cakra' is placed in the chariot of Subhadrā.[112] Thus, Sudarśana and Subhadrā sit together in 'Devī Ratha', Balabhadra occupies his 'Tāḷadhvaja' and Jagannātha boards 'Nandighoṣa'.

After the deities occupy their seats in their respective Rathas, the 'Vimāna Vaḍus' (those who carry the vimāna of the gods) bring the images of 'Rāmakṛṣṇa' and 'Madanamohana' in the palanquin kept under the 'Vaṭa' of Śrīmandira. According to *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, Rāma and Kṛṣṇa are placed in Balabhadra's chariot[113] and 'Madanamohana' or 'Śrīkṛṣṇa' is placed in the chariot of Lord Jagannātha.[114] After this, the 'Koṭha Suānsiās' deposit two chests in Jagannātha's chariot. These chests contain clothes, ornaments and materials required for the nine-day journey of the Lords.[115] The 'Leṅkā' and 'Pāika' bring the 'Citās' made of cork coated with gold and stones and offer them to the deities. Then, the images are richly dressed with 'Pāṭakhaṇḍuā' and adorned with garlands.

Cherā Pahanrā

Before the cars roll on the ground, the king of Puri ceremonially sweeps the platform of each car.[116] This ritual is called 'Cherā Pahanrā'. The king comes from his palace in a palanquin and performs this duty. He pays homage to the Lords. While coming, the king is accompanied by the people like 'Caḍhāu', 'Deuḷakaraṇa', 'Rājaguru', 'Patri' and also by his friends. Chatāra, Kāhāḷiā, Drummer and Cāmara-holders join the procession too.

It is believed that the cars do not start to move until the king of Puri sweeps the platform of the cars. Therefore, when the king reaches near the cars, the 'Daitāpatis' welcome the king and lead him to the chariot of 'Balabhadra'. During this time, the other temple servants like Mekāpa, Pāḷiāmuduli, Gaṛāvaḍu, Ghatuārī, and Dayaṇāmāḷī, etc., are present in the chariot. Muduli stands with the golden sweeping-stick along with the silver pot, Mekāpa with golden perfume stick, Ālaṭa Cāmara and Camphor, Garāvaḍu with the water-pot, Dayaṇāmāḷī with white flowers and Ghaṭuārī with sandal-paste and incense carrier made of silver.

Standing in front of Lord Balabhadra, the king totally offers himself to the Lord and pays homage there. The king operates the cāmara and offers 'Puṣpāñjali'. Then, Chāmukhuṇṭiā throws white-flowers and the king sweeps those with the golden stick. Thus, the king goes around the chariot. The golden stick is purified earlier by the 'Rājaguru'. The king also throws sandal-water around the chariot.[117] Lastly, he steps up to the Siṁhāsana of Balabhadra and embraces the Lord with a reverential salutation. During that time, the Daitāpatis fetch garlands, precious clothes and offerings. Our purāṇa mentions that the king offers the garlands and the precious clothes to the deities in the chariot.[118] This Cherā Pahanrā ritual goes with the sound of horns. After performing Cherā Pahanrā in Tāḷadhvaja, the king gets down the chariot and moves in a palanquin towards the car of Lord Jagannātha. There he performs Cherā Pahanrā

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in the manner described above. At last the king completes his duty in Subhadrā's chariot and returns to his palace in the palanquin.

The Pulling of the Car

After Cherā Pahanrā work, the king is the first man to pull the rope of the car.[119] The pulling of the cars is the most interesting feature of the festival. Thousands of people lay their hands on the sturdy ropes to draw the chariots, while the entire atmosphere resounds with the sacred name of Hari. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* prescribes such worships like 'Mahāsnāna Vidhi',[120] 'Madhyāhna Pūjā'[121] and 'Sāyāhna Pūjā',[122] etc., to be observed during the motion of the cars. On their way to Mahāvedī (Guṇḍicā Mandira), the deities are offered only fruits and cakes.[123] Our purāṇa says that the deities take rest on the way during the noon while they are worshipped with cold food and drink.[124]

The cars, proceeding along the Grand Trunk Road (Baḍa Dāṇḍa), reach Guṇḍicā Mandira at its end. Balabhadra's car is the first to reach the destination, then 'Devīdalana' and at last 'Nandighoṣa'.

The deities stay on the Yajñavedī for seven days and take the Daśāvatāra Veśa. They are worshipped in the form of Pañcopacāra with all the modes of daily worship like 'Mahāsnāna', 'Prātapūjā', 'Madhyāhna Pūjā', 'Sandhyārcana', etc.[125] Throughout these seven days' stay of the deities here, the banners (dhvajas) are worshipped as per rule[126] and the chariots are protected with all sorts of cares and precautions.

The Protection of the Cars

The Guṇḍicā Yātrā continues for nine days.[127] On the first day, the deities are installed in their respective cars and the cars are pulled to the Guṇḍicā house where the deities stay for a week. After eighth day of the festival, the return journey starts. During these nine days, the cars are properly protected and it is believed that the protection of the cars during this period is more important than all forms of worship and prayers offered to the deities. The purāṇas offer various rules and directions for the protection of the cars. Among all, the slow motion during drag is the first and the foremost. Therefore, the hilarious people gathered there are advised not to drag the cars speedily. They are exhorted to restraint in pulling the ropes and not to show some unnecessary enthusiasm or excitement. The mode of pulling should not indicate any sort of lack of respect for the cars. In this context, the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* emphasizes on the careful dragging and warns that the breakage of any form caused to the car would bring misfortunes to the ruler and to the ruled as well.[128] As stated earlier,[129] the breakdown of the car from any corner would bring loss to the Brāhmins. While damage to the axle would mean some misfortune for the Kṣatrīyas. If the 'Tuḷā' breaks, the Vaiśyas would be at loss and if the 'Sampā' breaks, the Śūdras would be ruined. The damage caused to 'Dhurā' creats draught and that to 'Pīṭha' destroys people. Breaking of the 'Cakra' would indicate troubles for the king and the destruction of the 'dhvaja' would mean that the king is sure to lose kingdom. And finally, if the deity's image happens to suffer damage, the king of the country would die.

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It should also be noted that the purāṇa speaks to prevent inauspicious animals and ominous birds from encroaching upon the chariots.[130] The entrance of such animals or birds amounts to serious mistakes and causes mishappenings to the country.[131] This again requires the re-installation of the 'Rathas'.[132] According to the *Puruṣottama-Māhātmyam* of the *Skanda-Purāṇa,* the spirits are made satisfied during this period with the offerings (vaḷis) and by that they do not cause any harm to the chariots.[133]

Significance

The work of the chariots begins with the 'Vanayāga' ceremony on the day of 'Akṣaya Tṛtīyā'. This day is unique in significance. This is the day when cultivators, barbers, washermen and others start a new job. Further, the day 'Akṣaya Tṛtīyā' heralds the commencement of 'Satya Yuga'. It is, therefore, treated as an auspicious day and, as such, the job of making the Rathas is begun this day.

The celebration of Ratha Yātrā during the rainy season is also significant. The sages are of opinion that the term 'Varṣa' (year) has been literally derived from the term 'Varṣā' or rain and this prolific rainy season leads and represents all the seasons of the year. Rain appears as the harbinger of hilarity and vitality for humanity. In '*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*'[134] the rainy season is wonderfully admired. Hence, the car festival is being celebrated in rainy season.

The most remarkable significance of the car festival of Lord Jagannātha is that it offers an opportunity equally to all people, regardless of their caste, creed or religion, to have darśanas of the Lord. The feeling of untouchability disappears during the car festival at Puri. In this context, our purāṇa averts that anybody who has darśana of the Lord on the chariot, goes to the 'Vaikuṇṭha Bhuvana' of Hari.[135] Visiting the deities on the chariots, the devotees attain salvation.[136] By hearing the sound of movements of the cars as well as falling flat in their shades, people become free from the great sins like 'Brahmahatyā' and also from the worldly attachments.[137] The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* mentions that the car festival is held at Puri to protect the down-cast and the poor people of the society.[138]

The car festival is, thus, the symbol of equality among all beings. It makes no discrimination between the Brāhmin and the caṇḍāḷa, the king and the subjects. The Cherā Pahanrā duty of the king of Puri symbolizes that the king also acts as a sweeper on this occasion and this elevates the mind of the common mass.[139]

Herā Pañcamī

On the fifth day of Ratha Yātrā, Herā Pañcamī is observed at Puri.[140] The temple servants, engaged in the function, are 'Pāḷiā Paśuspāḷaka', 'Caṅgḍā Mekāpa', 'Pāḷiā Mekāpa', 'Pūjā Paṇḍā', 'Muduli', 'Mahājana', 'Vimāna Vaḍu', 'Patri', 'Bhitara Chu Mahāpātra' and 'Garāvaḍu'.[141]

Lord Jagannātha launches his car festival accompanied by his brother and sister, Subhadrā. Lakṣmī is deprived of this pleasant privilege. She acts like a disillusioned wife and thus melancholy-possessed. She retires to the store-room of the Jagannātha temple. She refuses

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royal food, and takes 'Dāḷua rice' and 'Kalamba Sāga'. On the Herā (beholding) Pañcamī (fifth day) this aggrieved and lovely wife starts secretly for the Guṇḍicā temple in a fighting and angry mood. On that day, early in the morning She takes her bath and puts on ornaments. The Pūjā Paṇḍās worship her with the 'Panti Bhoga'. Being well-dressed and decorated with ornaments, Lakṣmī is carried to the 'Guṇḍicā Mandira' by a palanquin which is richly adorned.[142]

According to the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, Lakṣmī is taken to the chariot of Lord Jagannātha near 'Guṇḍicā House'.[143] As soon as She approaches the chariot of Lord Jagannātha, a temple servant 'Pati Mahāpātra' receives her. He fans her while himself standing on the wooden horses. In the meantime, the after lunch 'Āratī' (Madhyāhna Dhūpa) of the Lords is performed in Guṇḍicā Mandira. Thereafter, 'Pati Mahāpātra' takes the garland (Ājñā Māḷā) from Jagannātha and delivers it to Lakṣmī. Then, Lakṣmī, with this garland in her hands advances towards the chariot of Jagannātha and the Pūjaka there immediately brings the garland from Lakṣmī and gives it to Lord Jagannātha.[144] It is heard - "Lord Jagannātha would return home after three days. Lakṣmī, you please return today to Nīlācala."[145] Then her servants break some part of Jagannātha's chariot and return to the temple via Herāgohiri Sāhi.[146]

As per now-a-days' observance of the Herā Pañcamī, the three Pūjā Paṇḍās give the garlands (Ājñā Māḷās) to the three Lords after Śakāḷa Dhūpa of the day.

Significance

The behaviour of Lakṣmī on the Herā Pañcamī day signifies the very nature of an Oriya house-wife. She behaves like a sensitive Oriya house-wife with her husband for lack of mental understanding. As Lakṣmī is deprived of accompanying with her husband in the journey to Guṇḍicā House, She gets angry. In her impotent anger, She breaks up one of the several wheels of Lord Jagannātha's car. This fine psychological insight into a women's mind also reveals one of the typical features of Oriya culture and the Oriya woman's place in it.

Worship of Ramā-Mādhava and Viśvadhātrī

Till the end of the Ratha Yātrā, the festival of Ramā-Mādhava and Pṛthivī is observed in the temple of Lord Jagannātha at Puri.[147] Our purāṇa describes that the seat of the Lords at Nīlācala will not go vacant. This is the direction of Viṣṇu. Therefore, Dharā, Padmā and Mādhava are worshipped there during the period of Ratha Yātrā.[148]

Bāhuḍā Yātrā

The deities stay at Guṇḍicā Mandira for seven days. So, after eighth day[149] of the car festival, the returning journey starts. On the day of Bāhuḍā, the three deities, following the usual order, come to their respective chariots. They, of course, go through the Dhāḍi Pahaṇḍi ceremony before boarding the cars.

After all the deities including Madana Mohana, Rāma and Kṛṣṇa ascend their allotted

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chariots, Balabhadra's chariot makes the first move for the return journey to the great temple. His chariot is followed by the Devī Ratha as usual. Both the cars make their halt only at the temple.

The car of Jagannātha is the last to leave Guṇḍicā Mandira and it stops on the way at the temple of 'Ardhāṁsini' who is supposed to be an aunt of Jagannātha (Māusī Mā). The devotees of the goddess there offer him a nice cheese-cake.

By this time, Lakṣmī also comes out by the 'Vimāna' to 'Cāhāṇi Maṇḍapa' from where She has a look at Jagannātha.[150] Then, coming closer to it, She makes a circuit of the chariot. Thereafter, receiving Ājñā Māḷā (garland), expressive of Jagannātha's greetings to her presented by the Daitāpatis, She comes back to the temple.

The rituals being over, Jagannātha's chariot leaves for the Lion's gate of the temple. Usually, it is the night time when it reaches the temple and the images of the three deities remain logged in the chariot.

The next day i.e., on the 'Baḍa Ekādaśī' day, 'Dhūpas' and uncooked 'Bhogas' are offered to the deities in the chariots. The famous items of the day are 'Sunāveśa' and 'Adhara Paṇā Bhoga'.

On the twelfth day (Dvādaśī), the images once again go through 'Pahaṇḍi' to reach their seats on the 'Ratna Siṁhāsana'. As soon as the Pahaṇḍi of Balabhadra and Subhadrā is over and Jagannātha's Pahaṇḍi is about to start, Devadāsīs (Maid Servants) of Lakṣmī close the Lion's gate (Siṁhadvāra) so as not to allow Jagannātha's entry into the temple. But Jagannātha's Pahaṇḍi continues. As soon as Jagannātha reaches the Lion's gate, the Devadāsīs open this one, but shut the next one, 'Jaya Vijaya' door. Here a dialogue starts between the Daitās representing Jagannātha and the Devadāsīs representing Lakṣmī. This is called the door-opening ceremony.

Lakṣmī shuts the door. Lord Jagannātha appeals her to open the door. The Goddess then replies, "You are the Lord of the universe, why should you want to come here? Take back your sister with you, for left alone she may feel the pangs of separation." The Lord tells her, "I had with me my elder brother, Balabhadra. How could you accompany with me?"[151] Then to appease her, Lord Jagannātha promises her precious gifts. Finally, Lord's insistent appeals do move Lakṣmī and She opens the door.[152] Here according to the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, the Lord faces north and Lakṣmī faces south. They look at each other.[153] Then, Lord Jagannātha enters the temple, which concludes the car festival of the Lord.

Śayanotsava

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* mentions that the Śayanotsava or the sleeping ceremony of Lord Jagannātha is performed in the bright fortnight of the month of Āṣāḍha.[154] In practice, this festival is observed on the 11th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Āṣāḍha. Further, our purāṇa advises that in every leap year this festival should be performed on the Harivāsara day in the bright fortnight of the month of Śrāvaṇa.[155] Hari (Lord Jagannātha) sleeps for four months. Hence, the devotees observe 'Cāturmāsyā Vrata' from the Hari Śayana Ekādaśī to

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the same day of the month of 'Kārttika'. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* warns that the duration of 'Śayana' should not exceed to five months in any case. If it exceeds five months, the country, the king and the people suffer a lot. The king must lose the country and finally meets his death also.[156]

The Śayanotsava is followed by the Adhivāsa rites. At night the representative images (small golden images) Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa, Anantavāsudeva and Bhuvaneśvarī representing Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā respectively are brought to the well-decorated sleeping chamber and placed on the 'Ratna Palaṅkas'. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* depicts that the Śayana Maṇḍapa should be neatly cleaned and well-decorated with the beautiful flags.[157] The purāṇa also gives the descriptions of the beds of the deities. The swinging beds are wonderfully adorned with many precious metals as well as with the elephant-teeth.[158] The beds are made sweetly fragrant with the grains of camphor.[159] The deities sleep with their heads towards east.[160] When the Pūjakas make them sleep, they offer prayers to the deities and expect their most peaceful and happiest sleep.[161]

Significance

The sleeping of the deities signifies that the god or the living beings who come to the middle world (earth) must necessarily sleep and ultimately also die. Normally, human beings sleep at night. The length of a year (on timescale) for the ordinary mortals is merely a day (day and night) of the gods. Again, it is believed that the gods have their abode right above North pole. Therefore, the Uttarāyaṇa (the time when the sun moves the north) is supposed to be the day time for the gods.[162] Dakṣiṇāyana likewise is their night. Now, if one whole year of the mortals corresponds to one full day (day and night), then Ahorātra, the four-month span of the rainy season, in similar proportion, will correspond to the span of a night. Further, the Śayana of the Lord Jagannātha from Ekādaśī is also most significant. Ekādaśī is the favourite Tithi of Jagannātha, just as Caturdaśī is for Śiva, Caturthī for Gaṇeśa, Pūrṇimā for Candra, Saptamī for the 'Sun God' and Navamī for the 'Goddess Durgā'. Therefore, Lord Jagannātha goes to sleep on the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of Āṣāḍha and His sleeping continues till the same day of the month of Kārttika.[163]

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* while describing the 'Māhātmyam' of the Śayanotsava speaks that one, who observes 'Svāpa Yātrā', enjoys happiness here in the present world and also in the after-world. He derives pleasure from sons and grandsons and finally goes to Vaikuṇṭha Dhāma which is sometimes rare to the Gods.[164]

Garuḍa Śayana

Garuḍa Śayana Vidhi is performed on the 12th day of the bright fortnight of Āṣāḍha.[165] After Naivedya, Pañcopacāra worship is carried on.[166] The deity is then placed on a beautiful cot and is prayed to go for sleep. Afterwards, the image of Garuḍa is laid down in the bed spread over the 'Palaṅka'.[167] As Viṣṇu sleeps, Garuḍa also goes for a sleep. This symbolizes that the animals like the human beings take rest and sleep.

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Dakṣiṇāyana Yātrā

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* mentions that the Dakṣiṇāyana Yātrā is observed in the temple of Lord Jagannātha on the day called 'Karkaṭa Saṁkrānti'[168] when the Sun starts moving towards the south. After the morning rituals are performed, the images of the deities are sunk in 'Pañcāmṛta' in order to have their 'Mahāsnāna'.[169] The bodies of the images are painted with such perfumed substances as Aguru, Sandal paste and Kuṅkuma. The images put on fine and beautiful clothes.[170] The worships like Āratī, Homa, etc., are instituted. The image of Lord Jagannātha is taken out of the seat (Siṁhāsana) and carried towards the door.[171] The Brāhmins like Pātrahotā and Caruhotā follow the deity and arrive at the Jaya Vijaya door. There, they perform the necessary rituals.[172] They worship the deities, Jaya, Vijaya, Kṣetrapāḷa, Gaṇeśvara and Kāḷarātri,[173] etc. After such Vidhis are over, the deity take His seat (Siṁhāsana) again.[174] This Yātrā is also called Ayana Yātrā which is very much sacred and fruitful.[175]

Significance

Jagannātha has been conceived as the embodiment of 'Kāḷa'. The movements, like Uttarāyaṇa and Dakṣiṇāyana of the Sun regulates the seasons in India. Thus, the performance of 'Ayanotsava' in the temple of Lord Jagannātha highlights the phenomena of nature.

Our purāṇa eulogizes the Māhātmyam of such a function and mentions that one, who visits this festival of Lord Jagannātha, is undoubtedly freed from all his sins. He goes to Viṣṇupura after his death.[176]

Citālāgi Amāvasyā

This ceremony is observed on the Śrāvaṇa-Amāvasyā.[177] On this day, the deities Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā put on Citās made of gold and pearls. Therefore, this Amāvasyā is also called Citālāgi Amāvasyā. The temple servants, who perform the duty of 'Citālāgi' are the Vāḍagrāhī Daitā and the Daitās. They bring the Citās of the three deities to the Bhoga Maṇḍapa where the Citālāgi is done. Then the rituals like, Mahāsnāna and Madhyāhna Dhūpa are performed.[178] With their Tiḷakas and Citās, the four deities Jagannātha, Balabhadra, Subhadrā and Sudarśana are worshipped.

Significance

As the different kinds of Ratnas (gold, diamond, pearl, etc.) were obtained on the day of Śrāvaṇa Amāvasyā from the ocean churned by the gods and the demons, these precious metals and stones were considered fit to wear on the Amāvasyā day of the month of Śrāvaṇa. Thereafter, those were accepted as the holy objects.[179] Bhagavān Viṣṇu put on these metals and stones on the same day of Śrāvaṇa. On this day, the image of Lord Jagannātha representing the churning of the ocean starts journey to ocean.

The significance of offering Markata, Māṇikya and Hīraka to the deities is that Praḷabhagna (Balabhadra) likes Markata, Bhuvaneśvarī (Subhadrā) likes Māṇikya and Puruṣottama (Lord

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Jagannātha) likes Hīraka.[180] Sir Chandrashekhara Venkata Raman visited Lord Jagannātha and assigned a scientific significance to the festival. In the middle of the rainy season, i.e., in the month of Śrāvaṇa, diamond holes appear between the layers of the crystal as like as the Śāmukā (shell) taking the first drop of rain gives birth pearls. Thus, the day is scientific and the Puruṣottama is given the Hīraka Citā.

There is beautiful descriptions regarding Hiraka Citā in the texts like *Śrītattvanidhi* and *Ratnatattvāvali.*[181] In the ancient times, when Bhagavāna was lifting the world which was sinking down, he felt the work difficult due to complete darkness. Again, the darkness caused by the Amāvasyā Tithi spread over the outer world. During this time, Dharitrī sprayed her diamond-brightness and helped the god (Śukarāvatāra) to life the world by the teeth. As a result, Hīraka (diamond) born on the day of Amāvasyā. Hence, it is worshipped on that day and is offered to Lord Jagannātha. The people of Orissa call this day as 'Citraka Parva'. On the day, they satisfy the birds and the insects with Citau or Citraka cakes. Mahāprabhu Jagannātha also take Citraka cakes on this day. A figure like Hīraka is plotted in every home and Citau cakes are offered to it as Naivedya.[182]

Baladeva Janmotsava

The birthday ceremony of Balabhadra is observed on the full-moon day of Śrāvaṇa.[183] The rituals like Prātaḥ Pūjā and Mahāsnāna are performed. Balabhadra is well-dressed with various kinds of ornaments, garlands and new clothes. A Kalaśa is installed infront of the deity.[184] Then, the birth of Balabhadra is processed by establishing the image of Ṣaṣṭhīdevī who is the creator of life. The models of seven eternal beings are constructed and worshipped.[185] The deities worshipped on this day are Brahmā, Gaṇeśa, Varuṇa, Navagrahas, Daśa Dikpāḷas like Indra, etc., Mṛtyuñjaya, Viṣṇu, Eśāna, twenty-seven Nakṣetras, twelve Rāśīs, Kṣetrapāḷa, Kuladevatā, Mṛtyudevatā, Gaurī, Mārkaṇḍeya, Aśvathamā, Vaḷi, Vyāsa, Hanumanta, Vibhīṣaṇa, Kṛpa, Parśurāma and also Devī Subhadrā.[186]

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* mentions that Lord Jagannātha is prayed on this day to order his representative Sudarśana to go out for the sake of Baladeva's Janmotsava.[187] The presence of Sudarśana is required at the time of worshipping Devarṣi Nārada, Aṅgirāśrama, Kaṇḍvāśrama and also while going around the great Vaṭa Vṛkṣa.[188] Sudarśana is taken by a Vimāna to Mārkaṇḍeśvara temple. The 'Bisoi' supplies the necessary soil, while 'Sudu Suāra' models the image of Balabhadra. Pūjāpaṇḍā animates it by Mantras and then the image is worshipped in the five Upacāras. Our purāṇa mentions that the Mantras relating to the seven sages are cited during the worship of Balabhadra's image. These Sapta Ṛṣis are Gautama, Bharadvāja, Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Vaśiṣṭha, Kaśyapa and Atrī.[190] The rituals like Dhūpa, Japa and Āhuti, etc., are performed and then the image of Balabhadra is thrown into water reciting 'Gāyatrī' Mantras.[191] Sudarśana is taken back to the temple.

Lastly, the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* describes the Tarpaṇa Vidhi performed on the day of Śrāvaṇa Pūrṇimā. The deities, who are worshipped during this process, are Avanīśvara, Vṛhaspati, Indra, Varuṇa, Yama, Dharmarāja, Kāḷa, Oudamvara, Dadhna, Raudra, Citragupta and Yamunā, etc.

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Significance

The birthday of Balabhadra is also called Gahmā Pūrṇimā. On this day, the deities Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā wear Rākṣīs made of gold and silk thread. In the Oriya language, the word Gahmā is associated with the word Ahmā of the cows. The relation of Vaḷirvada or Vaḷada (ox) with agriculture and living is eternal. In the common man's belief, the Vaḷirvada deity is worshipped on this day as the deity of agriculture. It is an ancient tradition. According to some others' opinion, Gahmā was the killer of the cows. Bhagavān Baladeva destroyed him and hence began a ceremony of his success. In the Śāsanī-village of Orissa, the deity Vaḷirvada is worshipped on the altars made out of earth. There, the image of Baladeva with Haḷa and Mūṣaḷa signifies that the god saves agriculture from wicked Gahmā and protects the cows. Therefore, on the day of Gahmā Pūrṇimā, the cows, the oxen, the buffaloes, etc., the animals meant for agriculture, are worshipped in every home.[192] Thus, the Baladeva Janmotsava symbolizes the main worship of the agricultural deities in Orissa.[193]

Svarṇarekhā-Dāna Utsava

This festival is performed on the Kṛṣṇa Pañcamī of Bhādrava.[194] The morning worship is instituted as usual.[195] On this day, the deities Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā are offered Svarṇarekhā which measures three-fingers wide.[196] Then, the deities take their bath in Pañcāmṛta and are worshipped. This is followed by Madhyāhna Pūjā and Vandāpanā ritual in order.

Devakī Sāntvanā Utsava

On the seventh day of the dark fortnight of Bhādrava, the Devakī Sāntvanā Utsava takes place in the temple of Lord Jagannātha.[197] This is the sacred Utsava which spreads heavenly pleasure among the people. Devakī, the mother of ŚrīKṛṣṇa is given consolation on this day for she is worried of Kaṁsa's oppression in killing her seven babies. According to *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, the god Kṛṣṇa, hearing the prayers of Brahmā and others was pleased to declare to take birth as the eighth child of Vasudeva and Devakī.[198] The Kṛṣṇa of Dvāpara Yuga has taken the form of Jagannātha in the Kali age. Therefore, this function is performed in the temple of Lord Jagannātha and goes in the honour of the Mother-goddess Devakī. During the worship, Devakī was assured of a living child this time.

Sūtikā Gṛha Nirmāṇotsava

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* distinctly separates this function from that of Kṛṣṇa Janma, though this goes before the Kṛṣṇa Janmotsava on the same day. Both of these festivals are performed on the Kṛṣṇa-aṣṭamī of Bhādrava. In the evening of this Aṣṭamī,[199] the Pūjāpaṇḍās perform the rituals leading to construct a room for Kṛṣṇa (Jagannātha) Janma. The room is made out of clothes.[200] Our Purāṇa has described bit by bit the inner and the outer surroundings of the Sūtikā Bhavana so designed. Two door-keepers stand at the doors with their weapons.[201] One wooden-image of the goddess Ṣaṣṭhī Devī is kept there inside the room.[202] A Maṇḍala,

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known as 'Janma Cakaḍā' is carved inside the Sūtikā Gṛha. This Maṇḍala extends upto 27-finger-width.[203] Thirty-six forts are sketched the Maṇḍala with a Padma-shape in its middle.[204] The forts are coloured differently. A Kalaśa representing Cakradhvaja is established in the west of the Maṇḍala and towards the north and south sides of it, six-angles are made with five different coloured powder.[205] The Janma Pīṭha so designed is offered for the birth of SrīKṛṣṇa.

Kṛṣṇa Janmotsava

The ceremony of Kṛṣṇa's birth[206] is observed with gusto here in the temple of Lord Jagannātha on the eighth day of the dark fortnight of the month of Bhādrava. As already described above, the entire episode of the birth of Kṛṣṇa is dramatized here. A 'Mahājana' (temple servant) after going through a set of rituals, plays the role of Devakī to give birth to Madana Mohana (Kṛṣṇa). Another Mahājana acts as Vasudeva and takes the deity, Madana Mohana to the house of 'Nanda' somewhere near Sarasvatī temple. Here another Pūjāpaṇḍā plays the role of Ugrasena. In this way, the entire sequence of events relating to the birth of Lord Kṛṣṇa is enacted in the temple of Jagannātha. The after-birth rituals[207] are also performed in the same manner as it is done in the case of human beings.

Significance

Bhagavān Kṛṣṇa is the protector of the world. Whenever required, he takes his shape and plays his role. Thus, he has taken ten shapes (Daśa Avatāras) in the different ages and has protected His devotees as well as this world from the mischievous activities of the demons and other wicked ones. The gods prayed ŚrīKṛṣṇa to save them from the ill-tempered activities of Kaṁsa, the king of Mathura. Therefore, the god Kṛṣṇa took his birth from Devakī who was the sister of Kaṁsa. Bhagavān killed the mischievous King Kaṁsa and restored peace in the world. In the memory of such a remarkable event of our purāṇas, the birthday of Kṛṣṇa is observed with much pomp and ceremony not only in the temple of Lord Jagannātha but also in every home. The day is commonly known as Janmāṣṭamī.

The cult of Jagannātha is much influenced by the later Vaiṣṇavism where Jagannātha is established as Kṛṣṇa. All the diverse events of Kṛṣṇa's life are then staged in the temple of Jagannātha. Thus, Kṛṣṇa Janmotsava stands as the first and the foremost in the line of Kṛṣṇa-Jagannātha worship.

Nandotsava

This festival is performed on the ninth day of dark fortnight of Bhādrava. The deities Rāma and Kṛṣṇa are laid on the beautiful cots made of precious metals.[208] Then the two images are taken to Garuḍa where welcome ceremony is held.[209] The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* also describes the swings played by the two Gods.[210] During this festival, the deities worshipped in the temple of Lord Jagannātha are Devakī, Vasudeva, Yaśodā, Ugrasena, Rohiṇī and Garga.

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Avatāralīḷā Vidhi

After Nandotsava, the events relating to Kṛṣṇa's role are dramatized. Such events, which are included in one or more purāṇas, are Vijuli Kanyā Vadha, Aghāsura Vadha, Vanaveśa, Koḷivikā, Bakāsura Vadha, Kāḷiya Daḷana, Dhenukāsura Vadha, Praḷamvāsura Vadha, Vastra Haraṇa, Nikunjalīḷā, Andhalīḷā, Dāhalīḷā, Vimvāsura Vadha, Keśī Vadha, Lavaṇikhiā, Akruralīḷā, Rajakalīḷā and Dhanughara Prasthāvanā, etc. Before depicting the various Līḷās of Kṛṣṇa, the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* mentions that the Lord Kṛṣṇa by His own directions takes different forms in order to destroy the demons and to protect the gods.[211] The Kṛṣṇāvatāra Līḷā is performed on Navamī-tithi of Bhādrava.[212] The rituals like Prātapūjā and Mahāsnāna etc., take place as usual. After worship, a garland from Lord Jagannātha is transferred to the image of Kṛṣṇa and then the roles of Kṛṣṇa are put to action by the temple servants of Śrīmandira.

Durgā Janmotsava

When Kṛṣṇa took his birth from Devakī, Mahāmāyā (Durgā) born from Yaśodā, the queen of Nanda. The exchange of Kṛṣṇa and Durgā was done by Vasudeva as per the directions of Kṛṣṇa. The birth of Mahāmāyā is celebrated in the temple of Lord Jagannātha along with the birth-ceremony of Kṛṣṇa. The Goddess Subhadrā represents Durgā and hence the deity is prayed and worshipped to institute Durgā Janmotsava.[213] According to our purāṇa, the pūjakas imagine that the deity Mahāmāyā is conceived in the womb of Yaśodā and takes her birth in the family of Nanda.[214]

Saptapuri Amāvasyā

Jagannātha temple observes Saptapurikādāna Utsava on the Amāvasyā of Bhādrava.[215] It is a special function in the temple of Lord Jagannātha. On this day, the Vaiṣṇavas worship weapons (Āyudha puruṣa) like Pāñcajanya, Sudarśana, Kaumudakī and Kīdvaḷanī. They offer Saptapurikā Naivedya and observe Vratas during the period of Mahāḷayā (Devapakṣa). Such type of belief and worship are only prevalent in Orissa. The identification of this Utkaḷīya Vrata is obtained from *Prākṛta Tantra* texts. *Kāḷasāra* names it as Saptapitṛkāmāvasyā.[216] This is why the departed souls of seven generations are welcomed and given Saptapurikā. Similarly in the Jagannātha temple, seven kinds of cakes in the forms of the Āyudha puruṣas are prepared and offered to Puruṣottama as Naivedya.[217] *Karmāṅgī*[218] also mentions this Utsava of Lord Jagannātha in the month of Bhādrava. Here, the culture of Oriyas is represented in the Śrīmandira tradition.

Lakṣmī Vrata

Lakṣmī Vrata is observed from Bhādrava Śukḷa Pañcamī and continues for sixteen days.[219] Lakṣmī as the Śakti of Viṣṇu receives the Ajñāmāḷā from Lord Jagannātha on the Śukḷa Aṣṭamī of Bhādrava.[220] Then, She wears various types of precious ornaments and is worshipped with fruits and roots. The image of the Goddess Lakṣmī is taken to Mārkaṇḍeyeśvara temple where

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She observes the Ṛṣi Pañcamī Vrata. According to *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa*, Lakṣmī, after hearing the story of Ṛṣi Pañcamī Vrata there, returns to Baḍa Deuḷa with all other Vratārthinīs.[221] On this day, Ṛṣis like Kaśyapa, Atrī, Bhāradvāja, Viśvāmitra, Gautama, Jamadagni and Vaśiṣṭha are welcomed and worshipped near holy rivers or ponds. Such type of worship attaches importance to the Vratas of ladies.

Significance

Lakṣmī Vrata is observed in the honour of the women-section of the society. Here, Lakṣmī represents the whole women-section and the Vrata symbolizes the belongingness of women in the society. Lakṣmī is called 'Śrī' or the 'Śreṣṭha' woman. She guides all other women by performing her Vrata.

Pārśva Parivartana

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* includes this festival among all other Yātrās of Lord Jagannātha. The purāṇa depicts that the Pārśva Parivartana of the deity is performed in the temple for the benefit of the people and to destroy the wicked ones.[222] As mentioned earlier, Lord Jagannātha sleeps in the month of Āṣāḍha. He turns his sides during sleep on the Bhādrava Śukḷa Ekādaśī and hence the festival of Pārśva Parivartana is performed on the 11th day of bright fortnight of the month of Bhādrava.[223]

Now-a-days, the temple servants like Paṇḍā, Pati, Mudirasta, Vimānavaḍu, Bhaṇḍāra Mekāpa, Parva Yātrā supply agents, Taḷiccha Pradhān, Pūjā Paṇḍā, Beherā, Khuṇṭiā, Garāvaḍu, Pāḷiā-Mekāpa, Akhaṇḍa Mekāpa, Taḍāu, Suddha Suāra and also the temple priest engage themselves in the various specified duties of the function.

The rituals, such as Śakāḷa Dhūpa, Mahāsnāna, etc., are performed. The deities, thereafter, are painted with the sandal paste. After this, 'Madhyāhna pūjā' and 'Sandhyā Āratī' are offered to the deities. On the day, 'Madana Mohana' is brought to Lord Jagannātha in order to receive Ājñāmāḷā from Him. Then, the Paṇḍās carry 'Madana Mohana' near to the Banyan tree, from where the deity is taken round the temple in a palanquin.

The Ekādaśī rituals are performed and the Bhogas are offered at the 'Jaya Vijaya' door. Finally, Madana Mohana is taken to his own place in the south.

Sandhyā Dhūpa is instituted in the evening. Then, the temple-priest starts the 'Homa' ritual in the Ananta-Puruṣottama temple. After this, the Baḍasiṁhāra Veśa of the deities is performed and the bed-room of the deity is closed. The worship is offered in the form of sixteen Upacāras. The temple servants who enter into the bed-room of Lord Jagannātha are Mudirasta, Beherā, Khuṇṭiā, Garāvaḍu, Pāḷiā Mekāpa, Akhaṇḍa Mekāpa and Taḍāu. According to our purāṇa, the pūjakas of Agniśarmā-family open the basket (peṭī) in which the images of the deities are preserved.[224] After opening, they offer puṣpāñjaḷi[225] there and make the deity to turn over in his bed. The purāṇa further describes that the pūjakas separate the deities and offer puṣpāñjaḷi[226] again. At last, they close the images in the basket after performance of the prescribed rituals for Madana Mohana.[227]

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Significance

In the astrological terminology, midnight is called 'Sāyana'. This midnight hour is supposed to be the moment when the god turns his sides during sleep. Even, according to the modern practice in most countries, it is the midnight hour that marks the change in date. In the Jagannātha's Ahorātra (one year), midnight falls on the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of the month of Bhādrapada and the deity like human beings does Pārśva Parivartana.

Pavitrāropaṇa Utsava

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* describes that the Pavitrāropaṇa Utsava is held on the 12th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Bhādrava.[228] On this day, the deity Varuṇa is worshipped with holy cakes.[229] One thousand Homas are prescribed for this function, if not, a minimum number of hundred Homas must be performed.[230] The deities Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā wear beautiful dresses and ornaments in this function.[231] Then, they are worshipped with varities of 'Mantras', where Sudarśana is installed by the 'Cakra Mantra'.[232] In the morning of Dvādaśī Tithi, the ritual like Adhivāsa is instituted.[253] The deities take their bath (Mahāsnāna) then.[234] Finally, the worships are performed for the second time and a lot of Naivedyas are offered to Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā.[235]

Significance

From the twelfth day (Dvādaśī of the month of Bhādrava, the year of motals (Mānuṣa Varṣa) begins.[236] The first day of the Mānuṣa Varṣa is called 'Suniā' from which the Oriya new year begins. The 'Aṅka' calculations of the king of Puri starts from 'Suniā'. Thus, the day has both historic and calenderical importance. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* describes that the Pavitrāropaṇa Utsava is held in every year and is meant for the best-results of the whole year.[237]

Vāmana Janmotsava

On the 12th day of the bright fortnight of Bhādrava, Vāmana Janmotsava[238] is performed in the temple of Lord Jagannātha. After Madhyāhna pūjā[239] of the day, Jagannātha is prayed to give orders for the observance of the festival.[240] The god takes His Vāmana Avatāra on this day. Our purāṇa mentions that the image of Vāmana is made of gold.[241] Then, the god takes his birth from Aditi.[242] This is due to the fact that Aditi and Kaśyapa, in Satya Yuga, observed Payovrata in order to have the Lord Nārāyaṇa as their son. Lord Jagannātha acquires Vaḷivāmana Veśa (the dress like Vaḷivāmana) and looks like a saint. The image of Vāmana is carried to Garuḍa where it wears the dresses of a Brahmacārī[243] and then the image is taken to the Goddess Durgā (Aditi) situated in Agnikoṇa.[244] Both the god Vāmana and the goddess Durgā are worshipped there with Pañcopacāra.[245] The festival ends and the image is taken back to its original place.[246]

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Significance

This festival signifies the supremacy of Āryan-culture over Anāryan-culture. The latter goes against the former and does not prefer to Dāna and Dharma. Vāmana Janmotsava is observed at Puri to establish the Āryan-culture and to protest against the customs of primitive man. This, in turn, indicates that Lord Jagannātha is an institution which includes both the cultures.

According to another legendary significance, the festival is observed to save the King Triśaṅku from the difficulty he had taken in heading down while going to Svarga in self-body. The king felt proud at the first sight of the glaze of the heaven and there got the punishment due to his proudness. Bhagavān in the form of Vāmana made the king free from the trouble. Triśaṅku was a great devotee of the Lord and hence received His help. To remind such an action of the Lord, the Utsava is performed every year in Jagannātha temple.

Śakradhvaja Utsava

This festival begins from Bhādrava Śukḷa Dvādaśī.[247] It is also called Indra-Govinda worship, Indra-Jagratotsava or Indupūrṇimā Utsava. As the festival is only prevalent in Utkala, the Utkalīyas give importance to it as the worship of Indradhvaja. The significant rituals performed on the day are the worships of Saptamegha, Indravibhūti, Indragovinda and Candra.

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* describes that the God Varuṇa is worshipped at first and then Homa ritual is performed with Aṣṭākṣara Mantras.[248] Twenty-five sticks representing Śakradhvaja are prepared from wood like Khadira, Campā, Śāḷa,[249] etc. The dhvaja so prepared is worshipped with Pañcopacāra[250] and offerings are made to Dikpāḷas.[251] The purāṇa mentions that the Śakradhvaja-worship continues for seven days.[252] During this period, Śrīmandira is imagined as Svarga (heaven) and the outer part of the temple is taken to be Martya (earth). Indra, the king of the Gods in heaven worships the Govinda (Lord Jagannātha) who has descended to the earth. Therefore, the Utsava is performed outside the temple. On the day of the Indupūrṇimā, the image of Lord Jagannātha (Govinda) is carried to Martya of above where Indra comes on the back of the elephant, Airāvata from the Haracaṇḍīsāhi of Puri. Thereafter, Indra-Govinda worship is instituted. As depicted in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* Śakradhvaja, Govinda and the Cakra are worshipped together.[253] After seven-days' worship of the Dhvaja, it is thrown into water.[254] On the eighth day, one, who sees the Dhvaja, invites misfortunes to rule over.[255]

Significance

In remote ancient times, Devarāja Indra sworn on his throne on Bhādrava Śukḷa Dvādaśī. He observed the festival upto Bhādrava Pūrṇimā and declared the establishment of his kingdom. He obliged to the Lord Govinda (Jagannātha) in allowing him to ascend the throne. From that time, the festival is known as a Daivī Utsava and is only observed by the Gajapati Kings of Orissa.

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As revealed from the text of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* this Dhvajotsava is held for the sake of agricultural benefit. Due to the worship of Śakradhvaja every year, no drought or want of rain is met by the country.[256] Indra, being satisfied, orders rain in time.[257]

Durgā-Pūjā

In describing the festivals of Āśvina, the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* takes up Durgā Pūjā Utsava at first and mentions that the festival begins from the eighth day of the bright fortnight of the month.[258] The image of Jayadurgā made of gold is taken and presented before the Goddess Subhadrā whose order for the observance of the festival is prayed.[259] Before the Goddess Durgā is installed on the altar, the first ritual performed is the Abhiṣeka of the deity. This is done with the help of one thousand pots (kumbha).[260] The image of the Goddess Durgā is then taken to a beautifully decorated altar (maṇḍapa) situated in the east of the temple.[261] There, the rituals like Ācārya Varaṇa, Somarāvaraṇa and Brahmā Varaṇa, etc., are completed and the worships are made in the form of Pañcopacāra.[262] Then the image of Mādhava is brought to the altar of Durgā.[263] Both the deities Mādhava and Durgā are worshipped together on the same altar.[264] This is due to the fact that Durgā represents Śakti and Mādhava (Viṣṇu) represents Puruṣa here in the *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra*, though, in all other places of India, Durgā and Śiva are worshipped together as Śakti and Puruṣa respectively.

Our purāṇa depicts also the rituals performed on Navamī and Daśamī.[265] This Āśvina Śukḷa Daśamī is known as Vijayā Daśamī.[266] It is also called Aparājitā Daśamī.[267] On this day, Durgā with Mādhava is moved around the temple of Lord Jagannātha and then is taken to the Goddess Arddhāsani where worships are again made with Pañcopacāra.[268] Finally, the images of Durgā and Mādhava are brought back to the temple and placed in their respective places.[269]

Significance

From the ancient times, Oḍiśā is regarded as Uḍḍīyān Pīṭha where the temple of Lord Jagannātha is famous for its Tantra worship. The deities here are worshipped with the Mantras like 'Oṁ' and 'Hrīṁ'. Oṁ represents Praṇava or Mādhava and Hrīṁ represents Jayadurgā where all the natures of Viṣṇu are fully present. As stated above, our purāṇa reveals that the Durgā-Mādhava worship is instituted in the Jagannātha temple by the order of the deity Subhadrā who is the representative of Śakti here. But, as per practice, Ṣoḷapūjā continues in the temple of Vimaḷā situated there inside Śrīmandira. According to scholars, Vimaḷā represents the Śakti of Jagannātha and the Pīṭha is hence called Vimaḷā Pīṭha. The worship of Durgā-Mādhava symbolizes the union of Prakṛti and Puruṣa, the eternal beings, from whom this whole creation begins.

The other significance is that Durgā as the Śakti of Viṣṇu (Jagannātha) is prayed and worshipped in order to bless the world for all types of success. The Goddess Durgā is the symbol of success and happiness. She removes sorrows and sufferings of the people and the country as a whole.[270] Worshipping the deity Durgā, people start their journey to other places far off. When one touches the feet of Durgā and goes abroad, he does not have any trouble

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on his way.[271] Thus, the temple of Lord Jagannātha observes this festival for the upliftment of the people and the state.

Lakṣmī-Dāmodara Worship and Kārttika Vrata

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* mentions that Lakṣmī and Dāmodara together are worshipped in the temple of Lord Jagannātha from Āśvina-Ekādaśī to Kārttika-Pūrṇimā.[272] In practice, people observe this period from Āśvina-Pūrṇimā to Kārttika-Pūrṇimā and calls it as Kārttika Vrata. The Month of Kārttika is very much liked by Dāmodara (Jagannātha) and is more sacred[273] than the other months of the year. During this month, people do not take oil, meat, wine, etc., and they do not also rub their bodies with oil. Devotees take 'Haviṣyānna' everyday throughout the month. Bath in the early morning is one of the features of Kārttika Vrata.

On the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of the month of Kārttika, Lakṣmī-Dāmodara worship is performed with the rituals like Vandāpanā and Mahāsnāna, etc. The deities, Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā wear gold ornaments on the full-moon day in Kārttika. Gold-made palms are fastened to their hands. Such a dress of Jagannātha is called 'Sunā Veśa'. On this day, the temple-servants play at dice representing Jagannātha and Lakṣmī.[274] The devotees take their bath in the sea early in the morning on the day of Kārttika Pūrṇimā and then go around the temple of Lord Jagannātha with 'Hare Kṛṣṇa' and 'Hare Rāma'. Carrying the image of the deity, they travel ŚrīKṣetra.[275] Our purāṇa mentions that the devotees move on the way to Aṅgirāśrama and finally arrives at Yameśvara.[276] In the evening of Kārttika Pūrṇimā, Dīpotsava is observed in the temple. After evening worships are made, the image of Nārāyaṇa (Jagannātha) is taken to the Goddess Lakṣmī where the lamp-litting ceremony is performed.[277] The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* again describes that the devotees go to the great banyan tree (Kalpavaṭa) and offer worships there.[278] It is undoubtedly spoken that the Vaṭavṛksa represents Viṣṇu himself. Finally, the deity Gaṇeśa is worshipped by litting up twenty-one lamps (dīpas) arranged in seven lines. These lamps burn with the help of cow's ghee.[279]

Significance

This festival has both purāṇic and scientific significances. On his way to Mathura, Akrura saw Brajendranandana in the shape of Dāmodara while taking bath in the river Yamunā. Likewise, the devotees in the month of Kārttika take their bath in water and remind the image of the God Dāmodara. Such type of thinking of the water-image (Jala Vigraha) of the deity frees one from all sorts of sins.

The scientific significance of Kārttika Vrata is more convincing one. At the entrance of autumn, the intestinal diseases like indigestion, burning and gas-formation, etc., increase. Poeple feel lazy at the approach of cold, and towards winter hunger becomes too much. People get rid of their laziness and hunger by taking specified food-stuffs like green-plantain, mung-dal and ginger, etc. Morning makes them free from the hotness of the semen. The winter-born diseases are cured by the Vrata observed in Kārttika. The cult of Jagannātha, thus, reflects the cultures of the society and embodies in it all kinds of ceremonies and festivals of the

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people. Such an arrangement of Yātrās in the temple of Lord Jagannātha paves ways for the people to go for their own benefit.

Utthāpanotsava

The awakening ceremony of the deities or the 'Prabodhana Yātrā' is observed on the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of the month of Kārttika. The temple servants like Paṇḍā, Pati, Mudirasta, Taḍāu Paśupāḷaka usually take part in this festival. They perform 'Śakāḷa Dhūpa' (morning worship) and then make the deities rise from the divine slumber. This is followed by Mahāsnāna of the deities and the Baḍasiṁhāra Veśa. After bath, the images of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā are brought to the Ratna Siṁhāsana and painted with sandal paste. Then, the deities are adorned with new clothes, garlands and ornaments and offered Āratī and worship in sixteen Upacāras. Our purāṇa speaks that the pūjakas offer Puṣpāñjaḷi to the deities and pray them separately to rise from sleep.[280]

On the day of Kārttika-Dvādaśī,[281] rituals are performed to make Garuḍa rise from sleep. After the evening worships are completed, the image of Garuḍa, the vehicle of Viṣṇu (Jagannātha) is cleaned with 'Pañcāmṛta'.[282] Performing all the Vidhis of the rising ceremony, Garuḍa is awakened from sleep. The Paṇḍās pray Garuḍa, the famous bird for such a rise and dress it up with magnificent clothes and garlands. They offer Naivedyas and worship the bird.

Significance

The deities wake up from sleep as the human beings do every day. This festival is purely a manifestation of Laukika-Ācāra. It is commonly believed that sins and injustice prevail in the world during the sleeping period of the deities. People suffer a lot from diseases. To remove such unhappiness from the society, Lord Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā arise from beds and move their kind-eyes over the world.

Kṣetra Bhramaṇa Utsava

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* mentions that the Kṣetra Bhramaṇa Utsava is observed on the fifth day of the dark fortnight in the month of Mārgaśīra.[282] This is a sacred day for the devotees of *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra*. The devotees go around the Kṣetra and worship the deities. At first, they take bath in the Mārkaṇḍeya Hrada (pond) and worship the image of Mārkaṇḍeya Muni installed there.[283] The bath in the Mārkaṇḍeya pond is considered as the best among all other Tīrtha-baths.[284] The deities visited and worshipped on this day are Gaṇeśa, Vaṭeśvara, Maṅgaḷā, Kṣetrapāḷa (Śrīkaṇṭha), Nṛsiṁha, Vimaḷā, Nīḷakaṇṭha, Garuḍa, Balabhadra, Jagannātha, Subhadrā, Sudarśana, Mādhava, Viśvadhātrī and Lakṣmī, etc. Our purāṇa describes that Puruṣottama (Lord Jagannātha) is covered slowly and for four times.[285] The devotees go around the temple of Lord Jagannātha chanting Puruṣa Sūktas and placing the two hands tight on the chest.[286] Movement of arms is restricted in the purāṇa.[287] After visiting the deities, the devotees go to Śvetagaṅgā.[288] There, they see white fishes and Śvetamādhava (white coloured God, Mādhava) and pray the deity.[289] Then, they visit the deities Ugrasena

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and Hanumanta.[290] They worship and pray them with folded hands. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* mentions the worships performed on the sand of the sea near ŚrīKṣetra. The devotees sketch one image of Lord Jagannātha on the altar made of sand and worship with sixteen Upacāras.[291] The purāṇa speaks that the worship is made with five Upacāras[292] in want of sixteen Upacāras. After worshipping the deity, the devotees take their bath in the sea (Bay of Bengal) and pay honour to the sea and to Śrīkṣetra.[293] Offerings are made there in the honour of the sea, the king of the Tīrthas.[294] Thereafter, the devotees visit the deities, Lokeśvara, Lokanātha, Maṅgaḷā, Indradyumna Sāgara (pond), Vilveśvara, Nīḷakaṇṭha Yameśvara near Cakratīrtha, Cāmuṇḍā and Kapāḷamocana near Maṇikarṇi. They worship Indradyumna near Indradyumna pond and perform Tarpaṇa after taking bath in the pond.[295] After going around the whole ŚrīKṣetra, the devotees come to the temple of Lord Jagannātha and offer prayers to the deities and then return to their own houses.[296]

The purāṇic opinion states that all the deities of ŚrīKṣetra are included in three circuital divisions. Accordingly, our purāṇa mentions that the devotees divide the whole region of ŚrīKṣetra into three circuits and visit the Gods and Goddesses separately in each circuit.[297] But the Tāntrikas forward Saptāvaraṇa theory (theory of seven circuits).[298] The deities included in each of such circuits are mentioned as under :

1. First circuit (Prathamāvaraṇa) - Nābhi, Ratnavedī in the circular region, Indranīḷa Mūrti on Ratnavedī.
2. Second circuit (Divitīyāvaraṇa) - Ṣaṭkoṇikā, Four Śaktis (Goddesses) in this Ṣaṭkoṇikā, two Tīrthas, two trees, Garuḍa and Nīḷa Parvata. Four Śaktis are Vimaḷā, Kamalā, Maṅgaḷā and Uttarāyī. Two trees are Kaḷpapādapa and Śāḷmaḷitaru. Two Tīrthas are Rohiṇī Kuṇḍa and Praṇitodaka Kuṇḍa (Sunā Kūā).
3. Third circuit (Tṛtīyāvaraṇa) - It consists of Aṣṭa Śambhus and Aṣṭa Śaktis.

	Śambhus		**Śaktis**
1.	Agneśvara	...	Dvāravāsinī
2.	Vaṭeśvara	...	Mahāvrajeśvarī Indrāṇī
3.	Kṣetrapāḷeśvara	...	Śvānabhairavī Kutāmacaṇḍī
4.	Cakreśvara	...	Bhadrakāḷī
5.	Vaikuṇṭheśvara	...	Bhuvaneśvarī
6.	Pātāleśvara	...	Mahākālī Aghorā
7.	Lokeśvara	...	Yājñeśvarī Jhāḍa
8.	Īsāneśvara	...	Śītaḷā

4. Fourth circuit (Caturthāvaraṇa) - Two four-doored Bhupuras. One is Mahākūrma and the other is Meghanāda.
5. Fifth circuit (Pañcamāvaraṇa) - It consists of again Aṣṭa Śambhus and Aṣṭa Śaktis.

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	Śambhus		Śaktis
1.	Viśveśvara	...	Viśveśvarī
2.	Mārkaṇḍeśvara	...	Saptamātṛkā
3.	Mahākāḷeśvara	...	Dakṣiṇa Kālī
4.	Karnāmeśvara	...	Carccikā
5.	Mukteśvara	...	Alāmeśvarī
6.	Ugreśvara	...	Vārāhī
7.	Kapāḷamocaneśvara	...	Vanadurgeśvarī (Hara Caṇḍicā)
8.	Aghoreśvara	...	Vāsuḷikeśvarī

6. Sixth circuit (Ṣaṣṭhāvaraṇa) - It consists of five Tīrthas and Caturāśramas.
7. Seventh circuit (Saptāvaraṇa) - The deities on the boundary line of the conch and the Kṣetrapāḷa Nīḷakaṇṭheśvara are included in this circuit.

On the sixth day of the dark fortnight of Mārgaśīra, the routine rituals are performed as usual and offerings are made as per capability.[299] In this context, the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* describes that the people get similar benefits by travelling hundred times the world.[300]

Prathamāṣṭamī

This Utsava is performed on the eighth day of the dark fortnight in the month of Mārgaśīra. It is known as Prathamāṣṭamī in Utkala. People observe this function with much pomp and ceremony. It is also called the fourteenth Yātrā of Ekāmranātha (Liṅgarāja) in the *Ekāmra-Kṣetra*. The day begins with Prātapūjā (morning worship) which is then followed by Mahāsnāna of the deities Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā. After Mahāsnāna, the deities are dressed with sandal paste, ornaments and new clothes.[301] Then, worships are made with great devotion and the day is spent gladly.

Significance

In Orissa, there is the custom of ceremonial welcome to the eldest son of the family. The members of the family hope for his long life by worshipping Ṣaṣṭhī Devī and Mārkaṇḍeya. This custom of the Oriya people is reflected in the festivals of Lord Jagannātha. Among all the deities of Śrīmandira, the eldest and the first-worshipped deity is Balarāma. Hence, he is given respect as the eldest. Again, Mārgaśīra is considered as the superiorest of all the months. Therefore, in this month the Prathamāṣṭamī Utsava is observed in the temple of Lord Jagannātha.

According to Tantras, Ṣaṣṭhī or Jyeṣṭhā Devī is the protector of the eldest son.[302] While worshipping Jyeṣṭhā Devī, rituals are performed for the sake of the eldest son of the family. As evident from *Saudhikāgama*,[303] Jyeṣṭhā Devī is fond of crops and hence is called the Goddess of agriculture (Kṛṣi Devī). During Mārgaśīra, the people of Utkala collect their newly cultivated

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crops and worship the Goddess of agriculture to help them on their way of life. They prepare the image of Jyeṣṭhā Devī from the flour of newly collected rice and perform the rituals there. On the other side, Balarāma, the God of plough is worshipped in the temple of Lord Jagannātha with priority. Thus, it is the unique festival in Utkala country.

Navānna

In the month of Mārgaśīra, food prepared from newly cropped rice is offered to Lord Jagannātha at a suitable time calculated by the astrologers of the temple.[304] Cakes of various kinds are prepared and included in the Bhogas of the deity. Viṣṇu (Lord Jagannātha) is worshipped with much devotion. On this day, Navānna function is also held in each and every Oriya family. They take many kinds of cakes and observe the day with gay and happiness.

Dīpotsava

This Utsava is celebrated in the temple on the fourteenth day of Mārgaśīra.[305] Twenty-eight lamps are arranged in three lines and are filled with cow-ghee which is used as the fuel of the fire.[306] The wicks of camphor are arranged to look like ten lotus-eyes.[307] In such a fascinating style, the 'dīpas' are offered to the deities, Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā. While litting up the lamps, the deities are prayed humbly to accept the offering.[308] From Ekādaśī the pūjakas worship the deities everyday and go around the temple to lit up lamps at the foot of the temple as well as at the top of it.[309] Our purāṇa mentions that the lamp-litting is also performed on the day before and after Ekādaśī.[310] The day after Ekādaśī (Pratipada Tithi) or Dvādaśī is very much liked by Lord Jagannātha.[311] Therefore, Dīpadāna is instituted on this day before the image of Lord Jagannātha placed in front of Him.[312] During the function, the deities are worshipped with Vedic hymns[313] and in the form of Pañcopacāras. Then, the image is kept in its own place.[314]

Prāvaraṇotsava

A day before this function is held, the winter garments for the deities of Srīmandira are made ready. The ritual connected to this arrangement of clothes is called the Vastrādhivāsa[315] which is performed on the 5th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Mārgaśīra.[316] On this day the deities, after their bath are painted with sandal paste and then they are covered with aprons. Twenty-one new clothes of white, black and blood-red colour are brought for the Adhivāsa rituals. The garments are made sacred by Mantras cited by the 'Paṇḍās'. Finally, the deities Gaṇeśa, Dikpāḷa, Kṣetrapāḷa and the Goddess Durgā are worshipped.

On the Śukḷa Ṣaṣṭhī of Mārgaśīra, the Prāvaraṇotsava is celebrated in the temple of Lord Jagannātha.[317] This festival marks the onset of the winter. Now, like human beings, gods too need winter garments to protect themselves against cold.[318]

The day of the festival begins with the Prātaḥ Pūjā (morning worship). The new garments for winter are brought and then carried in a procession thrice round the temple.[319] After that,

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the temple servants named 'Mudirasta' decorates the deities with ornaments and the winter garments.[320] The deities, now clad in winter clothings are worshipped and prayed.

Significance

The observance of Prāvaraṇotsava in the temple of Lord Jagannātha indicates the entrance of winter season and reminds the people of their winter garments. From the day of Prāvaraṇotsava to the day of the 'Vasanta Pañcamī', Lord Jagannātha wears the garments of different colours on different days of the week. The different colours signify the colours of various planets. For example, on every Monday, Lord Jagannātha is clad in white clothes with black spots on it to conform to the colour of the moon. Likewise, on Tuesday, the God wears red dresses and on Wednesday the clothings are blue in colour. Red and blue are considered as the colours of the planets 'Maṅgaḷa' and 'Buddha'.[321] It is thus revealed that Lord Jagannātha is the embodiment of Kāḷa (time).

Cutāṅkura Pradāna Vidhi

On the day of Pauṣa Āmāvasyā,[322] the Cutāṅkura Pradāna Vidhi is instituted in the Jagannātha temple. This is because the mango trees bud in the month of Pauṣa and the buds are offered to Lord Jagannātha for better growth. After morning worships are completed, beautiful cakes of circular shape are brought before the deities. At the end of Bhoga and worship, the mango-buds (Cutāṅkura) are offered to the deities.[323]

Puṣyābhiṣeka Yātrā

This ceremony of Lord Jagannātha is celebrated on the full-moon day in the month of 'Pauṣa'.[324] From Śukḷa Ekādaśī onwards, the Aṅkurāropaṇa rite is performed.[325] Adhivāsa rites are held one day before Pauṣa Pūrṇimā.

For the Adhivāsa, the Bhoga Maṇḍapa is cleaned and kept ready with a decorative canopy. Eighty-seven jugs full of water as also twenty-one pots with cow ghee are brought here and are placed under the canopy. The temple priest performs the ritual and after which 'Taḍāu' closes the door of the Bhoga Maṇḍapa. After Baḍasiṁhāra Bhoga a mirror is placed on the Ratna Siṁhāsana during the period of performance of Adhivāsa rites.

On the day of Abhiṣeka, Śakāḷa Dhūpa is held with 'Homa' and 'Mailam'. The gods then put on new clothes. The door of the Bhoga Maṇḍapa is opened. Ghee for Adhivāsa is liquified by the holy fire fetched from the kitchen of Lord Jagannātha. Water mixed with liquid-ghee is brought to Ratna Siṁhāsana and is poured on the mirror placed before the image of Lord Jagannātha. This work is done by means of a copper 'Pātrī'. After such ablutions, the deities wear new dresses. Soon after, the image of Lakṣmī is brought to the scene. Lakṣmī here takes the role of Sītā. The temple servant 'Bhitara Chu Mahāpātra' represents Lakṣmaṇa and stands with the umbrella, while Bhaṇḍāra Mekāpa representing Hanumāna, holds the staff of the umbrella. The entire function enacts Rāmābhiṣeka. The Abhiṣeka of the deities is performed

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in the similar manner as that is done for a king. The deities wear dresses exactly like a king and the rites performed are the same as that instituted in a palace.

Significance

Astrologically, the Puṣyābhiṣeka is performed in the 'Puṣyā Nakṣetra', which was selected for the coronation of Rāmacandra. Therefore, Puṣyābhiṣeka is also termed as Rāmābhiṣeka and the drama of Rāmāyaṇa is staged before Lord Jagannātha, who is considered as the real king of Utkala country. By the directions of the Lord, the whole country is ruled.

Uttarāyaṇa Yātrā

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* describes the performance of Uttarāyaṇa Yātrā on the day of 'Makara Saṁkrānti', when the Sun starts moving towards the north.[326] The temple servants who take part in the function are Ghatuāri, Ṭaḷicha Mahāpātra, Paṇḍā, Patribaḍu, Suārbaḍu, Garābaḍu, Pantibaḍu, Haḍapa Nāyak, Pati and Mudirasta.[327]

A day preceding 'Makara Saṁkrānti',[328] the rites of Taṇḍuḷa-Yātrā is performed. This is called Taṇḍulādhivāsa.[329] For this, new Śāḷī rice is prepared and offered to the deities in a ceremonial style. After evening worships are performed, the 'mobile-image' of the Lord is taken around the temple to the accompaniment of music and dancing.[330] The deity is placed in a beautiful chariot and is taken around the temple thrice.[331] The circuit round the god is known as 'Navāṅka-Bhramaṇa.[322]

On the day of Makara Saṁkrānti, the rituals like Prātaḥ Pūjā and Mahāsnāna of the deities are performed.[333] After Madhyāhna Pūjā, the Adhivāsa rites are performed. Three rice plates full of the same Śāḷi rice are taken around the temple thrice and finally placed before the images as the offerings to the deities. Ghee, curd, sugar, cocoanut, camphor, etc., are added to rice in order to give it a better flavour and taste. Our purāṇa also mentions that the 'Kaḷpadruma' is worshipped and payed respect during the movement around the temple.[334]

Significance

When the Sun-god moves towards north, he takes a position of Makara-Rāśi and the Uttarāyaṇa Yātrā starts. Formerly, Maharṣi Kaśyapa observed this festival to satisfy Bhagavān for His creation. Believing in the fact that the god has created the world and the lives, people observe this Makara Saṁkrānti Utsava every year and pray god for His mysterious creation. The type of bath, gift, meditation, fire-sacrifice, etc., held during Makara Saṁkrānti Utsava remains unruined.

Vasanta Pañcamī

This festival is observed on the 5th day of the bright fortnight of Māgha.[335] On this day, the Pāñji of Śrīmandira is worshipped in the temple of Sarasvatī situated in the compound of Jagannātha temple. The God puts on new clothes. This is called the Cācerī Veśa of the deity.

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The word Cāceṛī means Saubhāgyotsava. In the fore-noon of Vasanta Pañcamī, the rituals are performed for the deity's winter-Śṛṅgāra. Then, the Vāsantika Doḷotsava or Vasanta Guṇḍicā Utsava[336] begins. The image of Lord Jagannātha is placed on a beautiful chariot which is dragged upto Yajñavedī of the temple.[337] Such a car festival held in the Spring season is called Vasanta Guṇḍicā Yātrā of Lord Jagannātha. On the day of Śukḷa Ekādaśī, routine-rituals like Prātaḥ Pūjā, Mahāsnāna and Madhyāhna Pūjā, etc., are instituted in the temple. The deities wear new clothes and are worshipped. Garuḍa Dhvaja is also worshipped on the day.

From the day of Vasanta Pañcamī, Lord Jagannātha moves with Sarasvatī and Lakṣmī to enjoy the Spring-tour.[338] This Vasanta Bhramaṇa Mahotsava may be observed for seven, five or three days[339] in the month of Phālguna.

Doḷayātrā

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* in its 34th chapter includes Doḷayātrā of Lord Jagannātha. The purāṇa describes different functions held during the observance of Doḷa Utsava. These functions are Phalgnotsava, Vahni Utsava and Doḷakeḷi Utsava. The temple of Lord Jagannātha observes the functions one after another and goes for Doḷayātrā from the tenth day of the bright fortnight of Phālguna to the full-moon day of the month.

The first function observed during Doḷa is the Phalgnotsava which continues for three or five days beginning from Phālguna Śukḷa Daśamī[340] On this day, 'Mailama' ceremony is performed and the deities are decorated with red clothes. During this period, Lord Jagannātha is worshipped along with the image of Govinda. Each day, after completion of mid-day worships, the images of the two deities (Jagannātha and Govinda) are brought together and worshipped with Pañcopacāra Vidhi. White, red and yellow coloured powders mixed with sandal paste and camphor are thrown upon the deities from head to feet.[341]

The Vahni Utsava or fire-worship (Homa) begins from Caturdaśī,[342] the day preceding the day of the full-moon in the month of Phālguna. The image of the deity is taken in a procession to Snāna Maṇḍapa for a bath. The image after bath is taken round the temple seven times before it is brought to the Doḷa Maṇḍapa.[343] Here again, the image is moved seven times round the altar, seven times round the pillars and also seven times round the upper part of the altar. When the deity takes his position on the Doḷa Maṇḍapa, the Vahni Utsava is performed. Our purāṇa describes that the Doḷa Maṇḍapa is to be constructed as per customs.[344] A small house having east and west doors is built to the east of Doḷa Maṇḍapa.[345] Inside this house, the great Homa is instituted. A big sheep is burnt in the fire of Homa.[346] The fire is burnt by the sacrificial fuel.[347] The Homa ritual is done by Aṣṭākṣara Mantras and the Āhuti (offering ghee to fire) is repeated for hundred and eight times.[348] Finally, Pūrṇāhuti is made and the fire is extinguished.[349] Our purāṇa mentions that the image of the deity is taken round the fire seven times before it leaves Doḷa Maṇḍapa.[350]

After mentioning the fire-worship, the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* includes descriptions of Doḷa Maṇḍapa where the deity plays the game of swing. This Maṇḍapa is situated in the east of the temple of Lord Jagannātha.[351] It is beautifully made of stones. It has sixteen pillars. This Maṇḍapa along with the pillars is white-washed. It is decorated with fans and beautiful flags.

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The figures of spring-birds such as cuckoo, parrot, etc., are sketched artificially on the Doḷa Maṇḍapa in order to exhibit springly atmosphere there. Two magnificent altars are prepared and two swings of uncomparable decorations are suspended there for the game of swing.[352] On the full-moon day, the image of Govinda (Doḷagovinda) is taken to Lord Jagannātha[353] where a number of rituals are performed. Our purāṇa finds no distinction between Govinda and Lord Jagannātha (Viṣṇu).[354] The Goddesses Viśvadhātrī and Ramā[355] accompany with the image of Govinda to the Doḷa Maṇḍapa. The deities go around the temple of Lord Jagannātha seven times.[356] These circumambulations being over, the deities are seated on the 'Naval Cutting Maṇḍapa' where they are offered 'Mahāsnāna' (bath). They put on new clothes and are worshipped in the five Upacāras.[357] Then, the deities again go round the temple seven times,[358] and finally come to Doḷavedī (swing altar). Here the deities play the game of swing. The function of swing is celebrated with much pomp and ceremony. Dance and music are the main parts of the enjoyment.

After the deities are offered a good swing, three Dhūpas (the morning, mid-day and evening) are performed. The deities go round the swing throne seven times and then they leave for the temple.

Before entering into the Jagannātha temple, the deities make circuit of it seven times and wait for sometime at Sarasvatī's temple, where 'Śitaḷā Maṇohi' ritual is performed. After that the Vimāna is brought to the store-room, some more rituals are performed and the deities finally are taken to their respective places. On this day, Lord Jagannātha holds 'Rāja Veśa'.[359] Offering of green mangoes to the God Govinda and to the Goddess Viśvadhātrī is one of the main features of Doḷayātrā. Dakṣiṇābhimukha or facing the south is the other remarkable event of the swing festival.

Significance

Lord Govinda (ŚrīKṛṣṇa) along with the Gopīs played the swing near Kadamba tree in Vṛndāvana.[360] As Lord Jagannātha represents Doḷagovinda, the festival is observed in the temple of Lord Jagannātha to remind the action of the deity in the age of Dvāpara. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* also mentions the fact that Govinda (Kṛṣṇa) killed Kaṁsa and Pūtanā for the benefit of the people.[361] This purāṇa further adds that Lord Jagannātha himself is Govinda (Kṛṣṇa)[362] and hence plays the swing in this Kaḷi age.

The Doḷayātrā also signifies the movement of Kāḷa or Jagannātha, the embodiment of Kāḷa. A change comes in Kāḷa Cakra or the cyclic order of time, in the festival called Pārśva Parivartana, held on the eleventh day of the bright fortnight in the month of Bhādrava. This has been considered as the midnight of the yearly Ahorātra. Corresponding to this, the mid-day comes in the opposite direction after six months. Calculated in this manner, it comes at the swing festival of the Lord. This is the time when the Sun swings from the east to the west leading to Aparāhna (after-noon) from Purvāhna (fore-noon). Interpreted allegorically, the Lord, now swings to the mid-day position in the yearly 'Ahorātra'.[363]

Depicting the Māhātmyam of the festival, the purāṇa includes that anybody who visits the Doḷakrīḍā of Lord Jagannātha attains salvation. Observing the festival, the country becomes

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free from famine and deaths. The king faces no troubles in ruling the kingdom. The people live in peace and happiness.[364]

Caitra Śukḷāṣṭamī

On the eighth day of the bright fortnight in the month of Caitra,[365] all the pre-arrangements are made for the birth of Rāma (Rāma Janma) on the next day. According to our purāṇa, this Utsava is instituted in the temple of Lord Jagannātha in the honour of Kauśalyā, the mother of Rāma.[366] After the Sandhyā Dhūpa, a special 'Bhoga' called 'Jeuḍa' is offered to the deities. The Sandhyā Dhūpa is followed by the 'Garbhodaka' Vandāpanā ritual. The image of Rāma, on this occasion, is lodged beside that of Lord Jagannātha.

Rāma Janmotsava

The birth of Rāma is enacted in the temple of Jagannātha on the ninth day of the bright fortnight of Caitra. This day is popularly known as Rāma Navamī.[367] The day begins with Prātaḥ Pūjā (morning worships) which is followed by Mahāsnāna and Madhyāhna Pūjā, etc. After taking bath, the deities wear beautiful garments and precious ornaments. The image of Rāma is taken to Lord Jagannātha and prayers are offered there to beg orders for holding Rāma Janmotsava.[368] The purāṇa mentions that the image of Rāma is made of gold and is magnificent to look. After birth, this image is washed with Pañcāmṛta.[369] The temple servants called 'Mahājanas', play the roles of 'Daśaratha' and 'Kauśalyā'. After Rāma's birth, several rites such as 'Jāta Karma' etc., are performed in the temple.

On the tenth day (Daśamī), the 'Yajña Līḷā' is instituted and on Ekādaśī is celebrated the great function, 'Sītā Vivāha', Sītā's marriage with Rāma. On the twelfth day, Rāma Vanavāsa Vidhi is observed in the temple. Similarly, the Māyā Mṛga event and the burning of Laṅkā are held on the 14th day and on the full-moon day of Caitra respectively. It is thus seen that the significant events of Lord Rāmacandra's life are dramatized here in the temple of Jagannātha.

Damanaka Yātrā

This Yātrā is performed after Rāma Janmotsava in the month of Caitra, when 'Damanaka plant' is offered to the deities. This is, therefore, a spring festival.

Damanaka is a fragrant grass which is offered to the deities on this occasion. On the Śukḷa Dvādaśī of Caitra, 'Kandarpādhivāsa'[370] function is instituted at Jagannātha Vallabha Maṭha of Puri. The Damanaka grass is plucked and brought to the temple. Here the moving image of the Lord is worshipped along with Satyabhāmā. Orders are prayed to hold the festival. Ājñāmāḷās of Lord Jagannātha are offered to the images of Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and Kāma (Kandarpa).[371]

On the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Caitra, the representative image of Rāma-Kṛṣṇa along with a picture of Kandarpa[372] is carried to Jagannātha Vallabha

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Maṭha by a palanquin. There, in the Maṭha, the fire-worship, 'Homa' is performed. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* prescribes one thousand times offering of ghee to the fire in order to satisfy Kāmadeva. The purāṇa mentions the worship by 'Gāyatrī Mantras'.[373] Finally, the Homa ritual is finished by giving 'Pūrṇāhuti'.[374] The deity 'Kāmadeva' is worshipped in the five Upacāras.[375]

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* describes that the Damanaka Yātrā is instituted on a beautifully decorated altar (Maṇḍapa) situated to the east of the Jagannātha temple.[376] After the completion of the evening worships, a house is built with sand. Twenty one numbers of Damanaka plant, plucked earlier, is secretly replanted in the sand. The images of Kṛṣṇa, Rāma and Viśvadhātrī are then worshipped. The worshipper holding the Damanaka plants in his hand prays the deities and offers the plants to them at last.

On the Caitra Śukḷa Caturdaśī, the morning worships and then the bathing rituals of the deities are performed. The worshipper goes to the Adhivāsa-house and brings Damanaka plants covered with the cloth. Thereafter, the plant is carried round the temple thrice.[377] The worshipper places the Damanaka plants on the three deities.[378] The deities Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā are prayed and worshipped in five Upacāras.[379]

Now-a-days, this festival is celebrated in the Jagannātha temple with slight modifications. The 'Damanaka plant' plucked earlier, is replanted in the garden of Jagannātha Vallabha Maṭha before the arrival of the images of Rāma-Kṛṣṇa. Now, when the worship of the images is over, the worshipper brings secretly six Damanaka plants from the garden, of which he offers only two to the deity Rāma-Kṛṣṇa. The remaining four he carries to the temple of Jagannātha. Rāma-Kṛṣṇa make the return journey to the temple by the palanquin. Reaching the temple, the palanquin is placed under the great Banyan tree from where is started. After the 'Baḍasiṁhāra Bhoga', the Ājñāmāḷās (garlands) are offered to Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī and Madana Mohana and then they are brought to Bhoga Maṇḍapa. There, the 'Mahājanas' fix three Damanaka plants on the arms of the three deities. The function goes with the Pañcopacāra worships of the deities.

The Caitra Śukḷa Trayodaśī is called 'Anaṅga Trayodaśī' when the 'Damana Bhañji' festival is celebrated in the Jagannātha Vallabha Maṭha of Purī. As stated above, the picture of Kandarpa (cupid) accompanies Rāma-Kṛṣṇa to the said Maṭha. *Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa* emphasizes on the worship of 'Kāmadeva and Rati' with the offerings of 'Damana grass flower'.[380] Therefore, the critics forward that 'Damana Bhañji' festival should be performed after the 'Anaṅga Trayodaśī' to control the passion for 'Anaṅga'. Thus, it is obvious that the cupid plays a very significant role in the cult of Jagannātha.

Significance

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* gives the following significance of this festival. In the ancient time there was a demon called 'Damanaka'. This demon was very much furious and was a danger to three worlds (Svarga, Martya and Pātāla). The demon was killed by the God on the fourteenth day of the bright part (Madhu Māsa) of the month of Caitra. By the divine touch, the demon was converted into fragrant grass, called Damanaka plant.[381] The God, in turn,

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put on a garland of this grass which became His favourite. Thus, every year, the God Jagannātha is made satisfied with the Damanaka plant[382] and the famous event is remembered by the observance of the Damanaka Yātrā.

Mahāviṣuva Saṁkrānti

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* includes the descriptions of the rituals performed on first day of the month of Vaiśākha. The Oriya new year begins from this day. It is popularly called Meṣa Saṁkrānti[383] or Mahāviṣuva Saṁkrānti. This day is also the birth day of Mahāvīra Hanumāna.

The temple of Lord Jagannātha observes this day with special offerings to the deities. The day begins with morning worships which is followed by Mahāsnāna of the deities. On this occasion, the deities wear new clothes and many precious ornaments. Different types of cakes prepared from rice are offered to them. Finally, Vandāpanā worship is done.

Candana Yātrā

This festival begins from the third day of bright fortnight in the month of 'Vaiśākha'[384] and continues upto the eighth day of the dark part in 'Jyeṣṭha'. It is observed for twenty-one days both inside and outside the temple. The essential aim of this festival is to paint Jagannātha with sandal paste during the summer and thereby to keep the deity happy.[385] The Candana Yātrā, with the passage of time, was introduced not only in Jagannātha temple, but also in many other places in Orissa. The beginning day of this festival i.e., Vaiśākha Śukḷa Tṛtīyā is also known as Akṣaya Tṛtīyā.

A day before the Akṣaya Tṛtīyā, the Candanādhivāsa is performed with fifteen seers of sandal wood. After the completion of the 'Adhivāsa' ritual the door of the temple is closed, and, 'Leṅkā-Pāika', a temple servant keeps watch on it. On the next day, the deities are offered Mahāsnāna and the ceremony is followed by their Mailama (change of clothes).

The sandal paste, which was prepared on the previous day, is now taken (in a procession) thrice round the temple[386] and then brought to the deities. Then, Pañcopacāra worship[387] are performed. The images are decorated with ornaments and finally painted with sandal paste. Including Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā, the images of Lakṣmī, Mādhava and Viśvadhātrī are also painted with scented sandal paste.[388] The other part of the function is the boat journey in Narendra Tank. After offering Candana to Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā, the images of Rāma-Kṛṣṇa, Madana Mohana, Lakṣmī and Pṛthvī are brought to the Ratna Siṁhāsana.[389] Lord Jagannātha is prayed to give orders for the boat journey.[390] Lastly, on receiving the Ājñāmāḷās, the deities leave for Narendra Tank by a 'Vimāna'. This Yātrā is performed in the temple with the help of the Rāghava Dāsa Maṭha, the king of Puri, Leṅkā Pāika, Paśupāḷaka, Vimānabaḍu, Paṇḍā, Pati and Mudirasta.[391]

While the deities make their journey from the temple of Jagannātha to Narendra Tank, the entire way is richly decorated. Mango leaves are used in such decoration. At small intervals, decorative gates are installed and also shades with big 'Toraṇas' improvised. Here the images stop for rest during the journey and are offered routine worships.

The images, mounted on the 'Vimānas' are taken out in a procession. Rāma-Kṛṣṇa's Vimāna leads the procession which is followed by those of Madana Mohana, Lakṣmī and Dharā

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Devī (Sarasvatī). The Vimānas of the goddesses are followed by Mahādeva's five Vimānas. On reaching the Tank, they are transferred to two boats.[392] These boats in the Narendra Tank are beautifully decorated. The one covered with white cloth is meant for Madana Mohana, Lakṣmī and Dharā Devī (Sarasvatī) while the other with red coverings is for Rāma-Kṛṣṇa and Pañca Mahādeva. A Devadāsī dances on the white boat. Her counterpart in the red boat is a small boy dancer, called Goṭipua. According to our purāṇa, the boats make three circuits of the Tank.[393] But in practice, four circuits are performed, one during the day time and three at night. The drums are sounded when the boats move. A large crowd assembles to watch the sacred scene.

After circumambulations in the tank, the deities take rest at the 'Candana Kuṇḍa' whose water, being mixed with sandal paste, is richly scented. The images are again adorned with different 'Veśas' and then the return journey starts. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* mentions that the boat journey for the deities is instituted on the last day of Candana Yātrā.[394] Actually, on the twenty-first day of the festival, Bhaunrī is performed. The festival reaches its climax. The deities go round the tank twenty-one times instead of the routinized three times. The Bhaunrī is very much interesting and hence it attracts the devotees to flow to Puri to enjoy the festive scene.

Significance

The Yātrā heralds the advent of summer. Its stress is, therefore, on the use of sandal paste. According to *Smṛti*, the four Yugas are reckoned from Vaiśākha Śukḷa Tṛtīyā. And since Lord Jagannātha is also regarded as the embodiment of Kāḷa (time), the festival begins from this day.

However, the Sun becomes unbearable during summer. People use cold things to protect their bodies from the severe heat. Candana serves as the best cold cream. It cures the heat-born diseases and protects the skin. In summer, people also go out to enjoy boat journey in large tanks. Thereby, the burning sensation is eliminated to some extent. As all the social customs are manifested in the temple of Lord Jagannātha, the festival is observed to save the deities from summer-heat by the use of sandal paste and by the performance of the boat journey in Narendra Tank.

Rathānukula Utsava

The construction of the cars begins on the day of Akṣaya Tṛtīyā, i.e., Vaiśākha Śukḷa Tṛtīyā. The deities, Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā are worshipped and prayed separately to give orders for making the chariots. Wood for the cars brought from the forest by the performance of Vanayāga ceremony are preserved near the east-door of the temple.[395] This wood is now used in building the chariots. When the carpenter starts the work, the Rathānukula Utsava commences.[396] Many routine rituals are performed on this day. The deities wear new clothes and ornaments. They are adorned with beautiful garlands.

Vanayāga Vidhi

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* includes Vanayāga Vidhi in its 36th chapter and mentions that

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the ceremony is observed on the third day of the dark fortnight of the month of Caitra.[397] On this day, the wood from the forest is collected for making the chariots. The purāṇa gives the detailed descriptions of the process of collection. In the beginning of this festival, Ācārya, Varuṇa, the carpenters and the weapons are worshipped with the camphor, sandal paste, flowers and new clothes. The Adhivāsa section of the festival is thus performed. Then, the routine rituals like morning worship (Prātapūjā), Mahasnāna, noon worship, etc., are instituted in the temple of Lord Jagannātha.

Then, the temple servants, officials and the carpenters proceed to the forest to collect wood. In the forest, Homa ritual is performed after the rules of the Vaiṣṇavas. The deities worshipped there are Gaṇeśa, Dikpāḷa, Kṣetrapāḷa and Paśupati. After Pūrṇāhuti is completed and worships are performed, the weapons are made sacred by the Mantras and then the cutting of the wood is begun.[398] The wood thus collected from the forest is carefully preserved near the east-door of the temple and is finally used for the construction of the chariots which starts from the day of Akṣaya Tṛtīyā in the month of Vaiśākha.[399] The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* also says that Vanayāga Vidhi can be held on the third day of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha if it is impossible to perform the same in the month of Caitra. The *Puruṣottama-Māhātmyam*[400] of the *Skanda-Purāṇa* admits the fact that the festival for the collection of wood is performed on the day of Akṣaya Tṛtīyā in Vaiśākha. Without the performance of Vanayāga Vidhi, if the chariots are constructed, then unhappenings and misfortunes occur in the state.[401]

Nṛsiṁha Janmotsava

The birthday ceremony of Nṛsiṁha is held on Vaiśākha Śukḷa Caturdaśī. After Mahāsnāna of the deities they wear new clothes and ornaments. They are painted with the sandal paste.[402] Then, evening worships are performed. The image of Nṛsiṁha is taken to Lord Jagannātha who is prayed to give orders for observing Nṛsiṁha Janma.[403] The Ājñāmāḷās of Lord Jagannātha are then transferred to the image of Nṛsiṁha. After Mahāsnāna ritual is completed, the deity is worshipped. At last, the image is kept in its own place. The purāṇa further mentions that the image of Nṛsiṁha is again worshipped on the sixth day and on the eleventh day of the dark part of the month of Jyeṣṭha.[404]

Rājendrābhiṣeka

On Jyeṣṭha Śukḷa Daśamī, the swear-in-ceremony is performed as Kṛṣṇa ascends the throne of Rāja Rājendra.[405] After completion of evening worships, the image of Madana Mohana (Kṛṣṇa) is taken to Lord Jagannātha. Ājñāmāḷā of the deity is then given to Madana Mohana who also represents Kṛṣṇa. Then, deity Madana Mohana mounting on the chariot, 'Nandighoṣa' goes round the temple in order to exhibit the actions of a conqueror. Thinking that the Lord has won all the states, His swear-in-ceremony is instituted. Finally, the deity is worshipped and the Vandāpanā ritual is performed.

Rukmiṇī Haraṇa and Vivāha

This ceremony is observed in the temple of Lord Jagannātha on the eleventh day of the

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bright part of the month of Vaiśākha.[406] After morning worships are performed, the image of Madana Mohana (Kṛṣṇa) is brought to the Ratna Siṁhāsana where prayers and worships are instituted. While Rukmiṇī worshipping near Vimaḷā temple, Lord Jagannātha (Kṛṣṇa) steals her and then the marriage ceremony is held.[407] On the beautiful altar situated in the east-side of temple, the images of Hari and Rukmiṇī are worshipped together.[408] All the Karmas (rituals) of marriage including Homa and the game of dice are performed by the worshippers.[409] On the same day, the mysterious actions of the Lord in water (Māyā Jaḷakeḷi)[410] is dramatized in the temple.

Rukmiṇī-Kṛṣṇa Bhramaṇa Līḷā

This function is held on the Jyeṣṭha Śukḷa Dvādaśī.[411] On this day the images of Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇī are brought to the Ratna Siṁhāsana and placed near Lord Jagannātha.[412] Prayers are offered to the deity to get orders for observing the Bhramaṇa of Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇī[413] The images are then taken to God 'Yameśvara' where the fire sacrifices are performed and the deities are worshipped. At the end of the tour, the images are brought back to the temple and carefully kept in their places.[414]

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* also includes the descriptions of the fourth-night ceremony of the marriage of the deities. The rituals for the fourth-night (Caturthī are performed on the fourteenth day of the bright part of Jyeṣṭha.[415] The image of Kṛṣṇa is then taken to the bathing altar (Snāna Maṇḍapa) where this is placed on the left-side of Lord Jagannātha. Lakṣmī and Lord Jagannātha cast sights of each other. This continues till the Śukḷa Pañcamī of Āṣāḍha.[416]

Thus, the temple of Lord Jagannātha at Puri serves as a beautiful altar for observing the festival one after another throughout the year. The way of celebrating the Yātrās is very much interesting. It symbolizes the customs of the society. It attracts the devotees from different parts of India and abroad. With their origin in remote antiquity, these festivals have considerably enhanced the importance of this Kṣetra. Each festival has something unique in its character. The variety of colourful dresses that the deities wear during the festivals are really observable. The pious people are always tempted to watch the different 'Veśas' of the deities and to enjoy the festive scene. The Veśas prescribed by the deities are popularly known as 'Hātī Veśa, Vanabhoji Veśa, Sunā Veśa, Kāliya Daḷana Veśa, Pralambāsura Vadha Veśa, Rāma Balarāma Veśa, Vali Vamāna Veśa, Rādhā Dāmodara Veśa, Thiākiā Veśa, Bāṅka Cuḍā Veśa, Āḍakiā Veśa, Dāḷakiā Veśa, Rāja Veśa, Padma Veśa and Gaja Uddhāraṇa Veśa.[417] Conclusively, it may be said that just as Jagannātha is a great and mystical character, so also his festivals.

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1. *Bṛddha Hārita Smṛti*, Ch.VI, Śls. 1-6.
2. *N.M.*, Ch.6, 14, 16-18, 25, 32, 33-36, 37 and 20, 29, 31.
3. *P.M.*, 45.2 : "Yātrā dvādaśa puṇyā yā uddiṣṭā bhagavat priyā."
4. *Yātrā Bhāgavat*, P.I(b)-P.XIII(b), P.I(b), P.II(a) and (b).
5. *Ibid.*, Ch.24, p.65(b).

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6. *Padma Purāṇa*, Guru Maṇḍaḷa, p.1052; *Kriyā Yoga Khaṇḍa*, Ch.18, Śls. 31-53; *Ṣaṣṭhamuttara Khaṇḍa*, Ch.65, Śls.8 and 15; Also, *Padma Purāṇa*, 4th Part, p.221.
7. *C.J.R.T.O.*, p.223 and fn.1.
8. This other Āṣāḍha is an extra month which is added to the lunar calendar of the Hindus after every 32 months and 16 days in order to make up for the deficiency of a lunar month (29.5 days) against a solar month (30.44 days), i.e., of 0.94 day every month.
9. *N.M.*, 6.122a : "Ithiṁ dvādaśa-yātrā me pavitrāḥ sarvakāmadāḥ/"
10. *N.M.*, 6.99-120.
11. *N.M.*, 6.99b : "Avatīrṇaḥ svayaṁ jyeṣṭhyāṁ tatra janmadinaṁ mama//"
12. *N.M.*, 6.100 :
"Tatpaurṇamī dine bhūpa snānaṁ me kāryamādarāt/
Mahāsnāna vidhau bhaktyā yathāvidhi mahotsavaiḥ//"
13. *R.J.A.*, Part II, p.57.
14. *ŚrīKṣetra*, p.163.
15. *C.J.*, p.129.
16. *N.M.*, 14.35-37a, Śvetacchatraṁ tathā Kṛṣṇaṁ (Śl.35b), Cāru Cāmara (Śl.36a), Trāsaṁ (Śl.37a), Candrātapa (14.39a).
17. *N.M.*, 14.37b-38 :
"Śaṁkhānāṁ niḥsvanaḥ kāryaṁ ghaṇṭānāṁ marḍaḷasya ca//
Madhuraṁ madhurikāravaṁ kārayedbhaktitatparaḥ/
Tantrī kāhāḷayostāvatniḥsvanaṁ racayetpathi//"
18. *N.M.*, 14.17 :
"..... svarṇakumbheṣu purayet/
Raupyeṣvatha ca tāmreṣu tvaṣṭottara śateṣu ca//"
19. *N.M.*, 14.19a : "Adhivāsa gṛhe tasmin...../"
20. *N.M.*, 14.18a : "Yathā śatapaḷāmbhobhiḥ pūrṇakumbha stathā caret/"
21. *N.M.*, 14.12b-13a :
"Tatastasmin dine bhūpagate yāmatraye sati//
Kūpasya saṁskṛtaṁ kuryā dadhivasakṛte tadā/"
22. *N.M.*, 14.26b : "Kāṣṭhasamvandha śakaḷaṁ raktāmvara samanvitam//"
23. *N.M.*, 14.75a : "Daśabhāge jab divye candanaṁ ṛtu bhāgataḥ/"
24. *N.M.*, 14.75b : "Saṁyojyātha tribhiḥ kumbhaiḥ pṛthak saṁsnāpayet surān//"
25. *Chāraṇa*, pp.19-20.
26. *N.M.*, 14.85b : "Kariśreṣṭhākṛtitayā veśaṁ ca kārayettadā//"
27. *Dārḍhyatā Bhakti*, Ch.23; *The Land of Viṣṇu*, pp.85-86.
28. *N.M.*, 14.105-106.
29. *N.M.*, 14.107-108a.
30. Jyotiṣa Viśārada, Vāikoḷi, 'Yuge Yuge Ratha Yātrā' vide *Pauruṣa*, Vol.7, No.1, p.34,
"Tataḥ pañcadaśāhāni mama snānadanantaram/
Svarūpam vā virūpamvā na paśyet pratimāṁ mama//" (Vāyavīye)

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31. *N.M.*, 14.119 :
"Virūpaṁ vā svārūpaṁ vā tasmin kāḷe nṛpottam/
Ye paśyanti ca te sarve pacyante niraye dhruvam//"

32. In Oriya, the opening of the body of Lord Jagannātha is called Śrīaṅgaphiṭā.

33. *R.J.A.*, Part II, p.63; *N.M.*, 15.3, 15.5; Das, S.N., *Jagannātha Mandira O Jagannātha Tattva*, p.148.

34. *N.M.*, 15.1.

35. *S.S.*, 4th June 1969.
"Gītaṁ nṛtyaṁ ca vādyaṁ ca purāṇapaṭhanā dvayaḥ/
Na kuryāt dharmaśāstrokta divapañcadaśā vadhi//"

36. *Ibid.*

37. Rāmānuja is known as Āllavandāra Ācārya. He was the Chief or the Embāḍa of the Daita Āllavandāra Ācāryas. He was from South India. He walked a long distance to reach Puri in order to visit Lord Jagannātha.

38. The following Śloka is collected from Tātācāri.
"Na paśyet gupta pūjāyāṁ dārubrahma sanātana/
Tadābhāvetu saṁpūja saratīre yathā sukham//
Śaṁkha cakra gadāpāṇe Āllavandāra sajñakam/
Pītāmbaradharaṁ devaṁ nārāyaṇaṁ vilokayet//"

39. *N.M.*, 14.120.

40. *N.M.*, 15.58-59.

41. *N.M.*, 14.121b-122a.

42. *N.M.*, 15.61-62 :
"Athapañcadaśīghasre rātrau yāmatraye gate/
Snātvācāryastadāśīghraṁ paṭṭadevasya pūrvavat//
Snānamātraṁ vidhāyātha kuryāttasya visarjanam/
Pratyacārnāṁ tathā kuryādvisarjana mataḥ param//"

43. *N.M.*, 15.66-67 :
"Taccakṣuritimantreṇa dadyānnetra dvayaṁ tadā/
Divye netradvaye jāte viṣṇornetrāmvuje'nagha//
Netrotsave'pi bhūpatsvaṁ tiṣṭeddeva puraḥ svayam/"

44. *N.M.*, 15.97-98a :
"Ye paśyanti navīnanīradacaya śyāmābhirāmākṛte/
Viṣṇostasya parātmanaḥ paramayā bhaktyāpi netrotsavam//
Te nūnaṁ bhavasāgarasya sahasā. saṁtīrya lokottamāḥ/"

45. *N.M.*, 15.98b : "Satkāraṁ suradurlabhaṁ padamaho tadvaiharerhho dvijāḥ//"

46. *Pañcarātra Utsava Saṁgraha*, pp.46, 47, 190 and 191; Utsava Vidhi, pp.46-47; *C.J.*, p.130.

47. *N.M.*, 6.104 :
"Āṣāḍhasya ca māsasya śite pakṣe gurordine/
Puṣyarkṣe ca dvitīyāyāṁ tatra kuryādrathots avam//"
N.M., 16.4b-5a :
"Āṣāḍhasya ca māsasya śite pakṣe'tipāvane//
Dvitīyāyāṁ tithau tāvadghoṣayātrā vidhīyate/"

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48. *N.M.*, 6.105b : "Guṇḍicākhyotsavaṁ kuryādati prītikaraḥ mama//"
49. *N.M.*, 16.12a : "Ghoṣayātrā ca kartavyā prativarsaṁ samādarāt/"
50. *Ṛgveda*, 9.62.17 : "Taṁ tripṛṣṭhaṁ trivandhure ratha yujnanti yātave."
51. *Ṛgveda*, 5.41.6 : "Pra vo vāyuṁ ratha yujaṁ kṛṇudhvam."
52. *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, Laṅkā Kāṇḍa, p.617.
53. *Mbh.*, Udyoga Parva, 18.6.30; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, 5.18.19; *Bhāgavat*, 10.1.30; *Kautilya*, 10.4.33; *Śukra Nīti*, 4.92.94.
54. *L.V.*, p.87.
55. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, IV.2.
56. *C.J.*, pp.130-131.
57. *Kaṭhopaniṣad*, pp.3-4.
58. *Lalita Vistara*, 11.3; *Buddha Carita*, 3.8, 3.24.
59. *Skanda Purāṇa*, Utkala Khaṇḍa, Ch.33 to 35.
60. *Kapiḷa Saṁhitā*, 19, pp.99-102.
61. *Dāru Devatā*, pp.189-190.
62. *O.I.*, p.460.
63. *Brahma Purāṇa*, Ch.66.
64. *Dāru Devatā*, 9.190.
65. *Navakalevara Geetikā* and also *L.V.*, p.88.
66. *Skanda Purāṇa*, Utkala Khaṇḍa, 29.34 :
"Guṇḍicāmaṇḍapaṁ nāma yatrāhamajanaṁ purā/
Aśvamedhasahasrasya mahāvedī tavābhavata//"
67. *Ibid.*, 29.38 : "Mamotpatteśca nilayaṁ prītikṛnmama śāsvatam."
68. Das, S.N., *Jagannātha Mandira O Jagannātha Tattva*, p.201.
69. *Skanda Purāṇa*, Utkala Khaṇḍa, 29.37 : "Tathā nṛsiṁha kṣetrañca mahāvedī tavatratoḥ/"
70. *Ibid.*, 29.40-41 :
"Dināni nava yāsyāmi tathā tasmādihāgataḥ/
Tatrāstite mahārājā sarva tīrtha mayaṁ saraḥ//
Tattire sapta divasānsthāsyāmyanujighṛkṣayā/
Tatra sthitaṁ māṁ pasyanto yāṁti martyā mamāḷayam//"
71. *L.V.*, p.89 and fn.37.
72. Sarkar, Gurudas, *Tini Mandirer Kathā*, Part I, pp.113-114; *J.M.*, p.176.
73. *Atharva Veda*, XX, 2.XIV.
74. *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol.2; *S.S.*, 1969, July 23rd.
75. Giles, H.A., *The Travels of Fahien*, p.5.
76. *L.V.*, p.91.
77. *ŚrīKṣetra*, pp.130-131, Gaudiya Mission.
78. *J.M.*, p.174.

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79. *Ibid.*, p.184.

80. *C.J.*, pp.95-96.

81. *N.M.*, 5.93-94a :
"Anye te vahavo martyā ratharajjukuḷaṁ bhṛśam/
Samākṛṣya mahābhaktyā prāsādāntikamuttaṁ//
Ānayāmāsuratyugraṁ kṣaṇamātraṁ rathatrayam///
Mahotsavatayā sarve harṣanirbhara mānasāḥ////
Rathotsava samāsaktā vabhūvurdvija sattamaḥ/"

82. *N.M.*, 5.33b : "Vāsudeva ratho divyo garuḍena ca cihnitaḥ//"

83. *N.M.*, 5.34a : "Padmadhvaja subhadrāyāstathā svarnamayo rathaḥ/"

84. *N.M.*, 5.34b : "Baḷasyāpi ratho viprā stāḷadhvajaḥ sa paṇḍitaḥ//"

85. *N.M.*, 5.35 :
"Nānāḷaṅkāra saṁyukto manoramataro dvijāḥ/
Nānā patākā viḷasattoraṇadhvaja śobhitam//"

86. *N.M.*, 5.40b : "..... caturdvāra vibhūṣitā//"

87. *N.M.*, 5.29b : "Nānāḷaṅkāra saṁyuktaṁ divyāmvara sumaṇḍitam//"

88. *N.M.*, 5.31 :
"Nānāvatāra līḷāyāṁ dyotan pratimādvayam/
Tataḥ svarnamayairaśvaiḥ sūtena ca samanvitam//"

89. *Rāmāyaṇa*, VI, 44.28 and *S.P.S.V.R.*, pp.68-69.

89A. *N.M.*, 16.68b.

90. *P.M.*, 33.18-19 : "Saptaccada mayaṁ kuryāt sīriṇo lāṅgaḷadvajam//"

91. *N.M.*, 16.68a : "Tāḷadhvajarathe divye lāṅgaḷaṁ dvaja muttamam/"

91A. *N.M.*, 16.69a.

92. *P.M.*, 33.20 : "Devyāḥ padmavajaṁ kuryāt padma kāṣṭha vinirmitam/"

93. *Chāraṇa*, p.71, The Article of S. Rathasharma.

94. *N.M.*, 5.40-41 :
"Aiśānyāṁ koṇa deśe'pi...../
Hasta pramāṇā tanmadhye vedikā śobhanākṛtiḥ//
Kāryāvidhijñaistatrāpi śobhanaṁ maṇḍalaṁ punaḥ/"

95. *N.M.*, 5.44 :
"Ṣaṭ triṁśabhiḥ prakoṣṭhaiśca madhye padmaṁ samālikhet/
Evaṁ kṛtvā tato dhīmān varuṇaṁ prathaṁ yajet//"

96. *N.M.*, 5.45 :
"Tataḥ saṁkalpya vidhivatsvasti vācana mācaret/
Ācārya brāhmaṇa stāvad varaṇaṁ tadanantaram//"

97. *N.M.*, 5.47b : "Tādṛśaṁ kalaśaṁ divyaṁ sthāpaynmaṇḍapari//"

98. *N.M.*, 5.48-50 :
"Navīnāmvara...../
Kalaśaṁ sthāpayitvātha tatpāśve dhvajamuttamam//"

99. *N.M.*, 5.51b : "Narasiṁha mahāviyyaṁ mantrarājena mantravit//"

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100. *N.M.*, 5.53a : "Vāyavyāṁ diśi kumbhasya tyajedagniṁ dvijottamāḥ/"

101. *N.M.*, 5.54 :
"Aṣṭottara sahasram vai...../
Pūrṇāhutiṁ tataḥ kuryādveda mantreṇa bho dvijaḥ//"

102. *N.M.*, 5.55-60 : "..... rathopari ca saṁsthāpya dhvajaṁ taṁ paripūjitam//"

103. *N.M.*, 5.61b : "Anuṣṭubhena mantreṇa jagannātha rathaṁ punaḥ//"
N.M., 5.62a : "Dvādaśākṣara mantreṇa balabhadra rathaṁ punaḥ/"
N.M., 5.62c : "Tathaikākṣara mantreṇa bhadrāyā ratha muttamam//"

104. *N.M.*, 5.77-80.

105. *N.M.*, 16.6a : "Dvitīyāprāgdine kuryāt nidrābhaṅga hareḥ prabhoḥ/"

106. *N.M.*, 16.6b-7a :
"Nidrābhaṅga jāyamāne viśvāvasu kuḷodbhavāḥ//
Tathā vidyāpatervaṁśāḥ purvavajjagatāṁ pati/"

107. *N.M.*, 16.8a : "Nitya snānaṁ tataḥ kṛtvā prātaḥ pūjāṁ tathācaret/"

108. *N.M.*, 16.8b : "Pūjānte tatra tatkuryānmaṅgaḷāropaṇaṁ nṛpa//"

109. *N.M.*, 16.18a : "Kāḷe tasmin jagannāthaṁ cāḷayeyuḥ śanaiḥ śanaiḥ/"

110. *N.M.*, 16.17b : "Gītai nṛtyaiśca vādyaiśca viprāṇāṁ stuti niḥsvanaiḥ//"

111. *N.M.*, 16.20a : "Ratha pradakṣiṇaṁ kṛtvā sthāpayedaruṇodaye/"

112. *N.M.*, 16.21a : "Subhadrāyā rathe cakraṁ sthāpayennṛpasattama/"

113. *N.M.*, 16.21b : "Rāmakṛṣṇau śīrapāṇeḥ sthāpayedratha sattame//"

114. *N.M.*, 16.22a : "ŚrīKṛṣṇa sthāpayettatra...../"

115. *R.J.A.*, Part II, p.70.

116. *N.M.*, 16.23b : "Tato rājan bhavān bhaktyā rathānāṁ mārjanaṁ caret//"

117. *N.M.*, 16.24a : "Candanāmbhaśca sarvatra tadrajaśca kṣipennṛpa/"

118. *N.M.*, 16.24b : "Saṁsthāpya mālyaṁ vasanaṁ bhaktiśradhā samanvitaḥ//"

119. *N.M.*, 16.26b : "Cāḷayennṛpatiśreṣṭha śraddhayā ca tadā rathān//"

120. *N.M.*, 16.34b : "Mahāsnānavidhiṁ tāvat...../"

121. *N.M.*, 16.35b : ".....madhyāhna pūjāṁ kuryāt subhaktitaḥ//"

122. *N.M.*, 16.47b : "Sāyāhna pūjanaṁ kuryāt...../"

123. *N.M.*, 16.36-42.

124. *N.M.*, 16.45a : "Mārga viśrāntamācarya...../"
N.M., 16.43b-44a :
"Tato madhyāhna samaye mārgamadhye rathānnyaset//
Sthāpayitvā rathāṁstatra śītadravaiśca pūjayet/"

125. *N.M.*, 16.69b : "Pañcopacārato nityaṁ trikālārccā prasādataḥ//"

126. *N.M.*, 16.70a : "Tatsaptadinamārabhya dhvajapūjā vidhīyate/"

127. *N.M.*, 16.98a : "Guṇḍicāsau mahāyātrā khyātā navadinātmikā/"

128. *N.M.*, 5.81 :
"Rathānāṁ cāḷane tvaṁ hi sāvadhāno bhavatviti/

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Yato rathānāṁ caḷane vikṛtiryadi jāyate//
Tatotpātaṁ bhavettacca śṛṇudhvaṁ munisattamāḥ///"

129. Vide our chapter 4, fn.306.

130. *N.M.*, 16.70b : "Ratheṣu kutsitā jīvā naviśeyuryathā nṛpa//"

131. *N.M.*, 16.71b : "Teṣāṁ praveśe yāvad vai mahādoṣo bhaveddhruvam//"

132. *N.M.*, 16.72a : "Rathapratiṣṭhāṁ ca punaḥ kuryād...../"

133. *Skanda Purāṇa*, Puruṣottama Māhātmyam, 35.4.

134. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, III.2.

135. *N.M.*, 16.145-146a :
"Paśyanto vājimedhānāṁ labhante phaḷamuttamam/
Manorathasya saṁsiddhiḥ prīto viṣṇu stadābhavet//
Śeṣe yānti harerddhāma kḷeśa kḷeśa vivarjitam/"

136. *N.M.*, 16.117-118a :
"Rāmaṁkṛṣṇaṁ subhadrāṁ ca paśyenmārge rathesthitam/
.....lavdhvānte mokṣamāpnuyāt/"

137. *N.M.*, 16.118b-119 :
"Rathaghoṣaṁ samākarnya ye hṛṣyanti narottamāḥ//
Rathacchāyāṁ samālamvya bhakti śraddhānvitā yadā/
Brahmahatyādipāpebhyo muktāḥ syurbhava vandhanāt//"

138. *N.M.*, 16.171a :
"Patitoddhāraṇārthaṁ vai dīnānāṁ hita kāraṇāt/"

139. *Pauruṣa*, Vol.7, No.1, p.39.

140. *N.M.*, 16.87a : "Rathotsavasya tasaiva pañcame'hni nṛpottama/"

141. *R.J.A.*, II, p.71.

142. *N.M.*, 16.89b-90a :
"Atha nīḷācaḷe lakṣmīṁ nānābhūṣaṇa bhūṣitām//
Nānāratnamaye yāne nayettatra nṛpottama/"

143. *N.M.*, 16.91b : "Mahotsavatayā lakṣmīṁ nītvā rathavarāntikam//"

144. *N.M.*, 16.95a : "Māḷāmānīya sahasā tasyāścaivopari nyaset/"

145. *N.M.*, 16.95b-96a :
"Dinatraye jagannātho gamiṣyati punargṛham//
Nīlācaḷe tvamdyaiva gaccha lakṣmī dṛtaṁ śubhe/"

146. *Pauruṣa*, Vol.7, No.1, p.38.

147. *N.M.*, 16.98b : "Tasyāmatra ramāṁ pṛthivīṁ mādhavaṁ pūjayettadā//"

148. *N.M.*, 16.99 :
"Nīlācalaṁ ca nokuryāt śūnyaṁ viṣṇonirdeśataḥ/
Tato nīlācale rakṣeddharāṁ padmāṁ ca mādhavam//"

149. *N.M.*, 16.104b-105a :
"Aṣṭamasya dinasyāpi parvaṁ rātrau nṛpottama//
Gate yāme saapādeca nidrābhaṅga hareścaret/"

150. *N.M.*, 16.138 :

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"Rathāntikaṁ samānīya jagadīśapuraḥ sthaḷe/
Haste dhṛtvā tu tāṁ lakṣmīṁ paraspara vilokanam//"

151. *C.J.*, p.137.

152. *N.M.*, 16.154b : "Utpheṭanaṁ kavāṭasya karttuṁ lakṣmīṁ tu pārṣadāh//"

153. *N.M.*, 16.156b-157 :
".....kamaḷāpatim//
Uttarābhimukhaṁ kṛtvā ramāṁ dakṣiṇadiṅmukhīm/
Racayitvā ca yo rājan paraspara nirikṣaṇam//"

154. *N.M.*, 17.3b-4a :
".....yātrāṁ ca śāyinīm//
Āṣāḍhasya śite pakṣe punye tatra harerdine/"

155. *N.M.*, 17.34-35a:
"Cāturmasyāntare rājan māsa vṛddhiryathā bhavet/
Tadā śrāvaṇamāsasya śukḷe'pi harivāsare//
Hareḥ śayanayātrāyā vidhiḥ kāryo na saṁśaya/"

156. *N.M.*, 17.35b-37 :
"Pañcamāsānabhivyāpya bhramādyadi hareśca tat//
Svāpakarma yadā bhūyāttadā loke mahadbhayam/
Deśocchedanamatyugraṁ rājā naśyettadā dhruvam//
Marakaṁ ca patedghoraṁ tasmāttattu na kārayet/"

157. *N.M.*, 17.18b : "Vitānamaṇḍite ramye tadṛśe tatra maṇḍape//"

158. *N.M.*, 17.19 :
"Dantidanta samudbhūtāṁ nānāratna samanvitām/
Doḷāṁ saṁyojya...../"

159. *N.M.*, 17.20 :
"Tūḷīṁ līḷapadhānaṁ ca tataḥ karpūrareṇubhiḥ/
Mahāsuvāsitaṁ kṛtvā tatastāḥ pratimāḥ śubhāḥ//"

160. *N.M.*, 17.21a : "Pūrvadiṅmastakatvena sthāpaye...../"

161. *N.M.*, 17.25b-29a.

162. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* : "Ayanaṁ dakṣiṇaṁ rātri devānāmuttaraṁ dinam/"
quoted in *Chāraṇa* by Śrī Satccidananda Miśra, p.17.

163. *Meghadūtam*, Chandrakalā, Chaukhambha, 1964, Uttara Megha, Śloka 48 :
"Śāpānto me.....śāraṅga pāṇau/
Śeṣān māsān gamya caturo...../"

164. *N.M.*, 17.31b-32 :
"Svāpa yātrāmimāṁ viṣṇorye paśyanti muḍanvitāḥ//
Sukhamatra paraṁ bhuktyā putrapautra samanvitāḥ/
Gantāraste paraṁ dhāma śeṣe'pi suradurlabham//"

165. *N.M.*, 17.40 : "Dvādaśyāṁ ca tithau viprā gāruḍaṁ śayanaṁ bhavet/"

166. *N.M.*, 17.42a : "Naivedyaṁ ca prakurvīta pūjāṁ pañcopacārataḥ/"

167. *N.M.*, 17.43-44 :
"Palyaṅkasya tale ramye pravostasya parātmanaḥ/

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Tarkṣasaukhyena śayanaṁ kuruṣva bhaktasattamāḥ//
Iti saṁprārthya garuḍaṁ cintayetkamaḷāpateḥ/
Palyaṅka taḷa saṁsuptaṁ hareḥ priya cikīrṣayā//"

168. *N.M.*, 18.3 :
"Dakṣiṇāyanasyātrāyā vidhiṁ śṛṇu mahīpate/
Yadā bhavati saṁkrāntiḥ karkaṭī vā jagatpateḥ//

169. *N.M.*, 18.4 :
"Prātaḥ pūjāvasāne'tha tatdine'pi yathāvidhi/
Mahāsnānaṁ prakurvīt pūjakaḥ śuddhamānasaḥ//"

170. *N.M.*, 18.5 :
"Devatāṅge tataḥ kāryaṁ catuḥsama vilepanam/
Pūrvavacca tato divyavastrāṇi vikṣaṇadibhiḥ//"

171. *N.M.*, 18.13b : "Siṁhāsanādvahirbhūyo gaccheddvāra samīpataḥ//

172. *N.M.*, 18.16 :
"Jayaśca vijayo yatra dvārapāḷau ca tiṣṭhataḥ/
Sāmānya vidhinā tatra pūjako'sau samrcayet//"

173. *N.M.*, 18.17b-18 :
"Tato jayaṁ ca vijayaṁ kṣetrapāḷaṁ gaṇeśvaram//
Dehaḷīsthāṁ kāḷarātriṁ dikpāḷāṁśca diśaṁ kramāt/
Pratekaṁ pūjayetsarvā devatāścandanādinā//"

174. *N.M.*, 18.21b : "Etasyāpi vidherante punaḥ siṁhāsane vasan//"

175. *N.M.*, 18.23b : "Imāṁ ayanayātrāṁ ye pavitrāṁ sarva kāmadām//"

176. *N.M.*, 18.24 :
"Paśyanti bhaktyā te sarve muktāḥ syuḥ pāpajāḷataḥ/
Ante viṣṇupuraṁ yānti devānāmpi durlabham//"

177. *N.M.*, 19.4a : "Śrāvaṇasya ca māsasya tvamāvāsyādine nṛpa/"

178. *N.M.*, 19.8 :
"Pañcāmṛtaistatomantrī mahāsnānaṁ samācaret/
Tato madhyāhnapūjāṁ ca kuryānnṛpatisattama//"

179. *S.S.*, 1969, August 13,
"Samudra manthanodbhuta nānāratna suśobhitam/
Tiḷakaṁ deva deveśa gṛhāṇa puruṣottama//"

180. Nīlādri Arccaka Candrikā quoted in *S.S.*, 1969, August 13,
"Śaśāṅkadhavaḷaṁ vīraṁ taptanāgopa śobhitam/
Saṁgrāme capaḷaṁ rāmaṁ haḷadhṛk markata priyam//
Vandedevīṁ parāśakti pāśāṅkuśa dharāṁśubham/
Varābhayākarāṁ devī maṇikya mukutojjvaḷām//
Nīḷendrīvara syāma hīrakamukuṭojjvaḷam/
Śaṁkha cakra gadāpadma dhāriṇaṁ vanamāḷinam//"

181. Śrī Tattvanidhi and Ratnatattvāvaḷī quoted in *S.S.*, 1969, August 13.

182. *Ibid.*

183. *N.M.*, 19.9b :
"Tataḥ śrāvaṇa paurṇamyāṁ prātaḥ pūjā vasānataḥ//"

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184. *N.M.*, 19.11 :
"Nānāḷaṅkāra māḷyādi navīnāmvara dānataḥ/
Balabhadragrato rājan sthāpayet kaḷaśaṁ navam//"

185. *N.M.*, 19.12b-13a :
"Ṣaṣṭhīdevyāḥ pratikṛtiṁ mṛkaṇḍu tanayasya ca//
Tathaiva racayeddhīmān saptānāṁ cira jīvinām/"

186. *N.M.*, Ch.19, Ślokas 14-26.

187. *N.M.*, 19.29a : "Ājñāṁ dehi ramākānta stambharūpaṁ sudarśanam/"

188. *N.M.*, 19.29b-30 :
"Baḷajanmotsavārthaṁ ca tathā devarṣi pūjane//
Aṅgirāsramapūjāyai tadvaṭasya pradakṣiṇe/
Kaṇḍvāśramārcanārthaṁ ca kṣetra bhramaṇa hetave//"

189. *N.M.*, 19.34b : "Mārkaṇḍeyāntikaṁ nītvā mahotsavatayātadā//"

190. *N.M.*, 19.38-39 :
"Dhyāyetsaptarṣi bhāvena tāneva sapta viṣṭarān/
Gautamaṁ ca bharadvājaṁ viśvāmitraṁ tathā munim//
Jamadagniṁ vaśiṣṭaṁ ca kaśyapaṁ tvatrimeva ca/"

191. *N.M.*, 19.47a : "..... gāyatrīṁ paṭhitvā tadvisarjanam/"

192. *S.S.*, 1969, August 27.
Kāḷasāra,
"Gāvo mahiṣyacchāgadi pūjā śobhyaḥ dine/
Pūjana kecidicchanti śrāvanyāt gavādinām//"

193. *Ibid.*

194. *N.M.*, 21.2a : "Bhādrave māsi kṛṣṇāyāṁ pañcamyām aruṇodaye/"

195. *N.M.*, 21.2b : "Prātaḥ pūjā ca karttavyā tadante te narottamāḥ//"

196. *N.M.*, 21.3b-5a :
"Āgatya balabhadrasya jagannāthasya ca pravoḥ//
Bhadrāyāśca mukhānāṁ ca hyurddhadeśe ca pārśvayoḥ/
Manoramāṁ svarnarekhāmaṅguḷitritayā nvitām//
Datvā ca bhūṣayeyuste yathāśobhaṁ nṛpottama/"

197. *N.M.*, 21.7 :
"Kṛṣṇāyāyamaṭha saptamyāṁ sāyaṁpūjā vidhānataḥ/
Devakīsāntvanārthāya jagadīśaṁ punaryajet//"

198. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* quoted in *S.S.*, 1969, September 3,
"Vasudeva gṛhe sākṣāt bhagavān pumṣoparaḥ/
Janmiṣyate tatkṣiyārthaṁ sambhavantaṁ surastriyaḥ//"

199. *N.M.*, 21.9a : "Tato'ṣṭamī dine...../"

200. *N.M.*, 21.10b : "Sūtikāgṛha nirmāṇaṁ vastreṇa parikalpayet//"

201. *N.M.*, 21.13b : "Dvāradvaye dvārapāḷā muṣaḷāyudha pāṇaya//"

202. *N.M.*, 21.14b : "Kāṣṭhai vinirmitā ṣaṣṭhīdevī tatra sthitā bhavet//"

203. *N.M.*, 21.16 :

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"Ācāryaḥ saptaviṁśatyaṅguḷīmāna samanvitam/
Maṇḍalaṁ caturasraṁ ca racayettatra bhūpate//"

204. *N.M.*, 21.19a : "Ṣaṭtriṁśa Koṣṭhikābhiśca madhye padmaṁ likhetśubham/"

205. *N.M.*, 21.24a : "Tatpaścime ca kalaśaṁ cakradhvaja samanvitam/"
N.M., 21.25 :
"Maṇḍalsyottara deśe tathā dakṣiṇadeśetaḥ/
Pañcavarṇaiśca cūrṇaiśca ṣaṭkoṇaṁ racayedvudhaḥ//"

206. *N.M.*, 21.40a : "Etatsminmaṇḍaḷe divye kṛṣṇajanmārccanaṁ yadā/"

207. *N.M.*, 22.8b : "ŚrīKṛṣṇa janmapūjāyāṁ karma karttumahaṁ vṛṇe//"

208. *N.M.*, 23.28 :
"Mahotsave jāyamāne divyaparyyaṅka śāyinau/
Rāmakṛṣṇau tato nitvā vainateyāgrtaḥ sthaḷe//"

209. *N.M.*, 23.30a : "..... pūjāṁ kuryyād vandāpanāṁtataḥ/"

210. *N.M.*, 23.30b : "Cāru doḷāntare rājan rāmakṛṣṇau ca tau punaḥ//"

211. *N.M.*, 22.62b-63a :
"Dānavānāṁ vināśāya rakṣaṇāya satāṁ punaḥ//
Tvattobhavanti matsyādyā avatārāstavājñayā/"

212. *N.M.*, 23.44 :
"Kṛṣṇāvatāralīḷā ca karaṇīyā prayatnataḥ/
Navamyāṁ ca tithau rājan prātaḥ pūjā vasānataḥ//"

213. *N.M.*, 23.54-55 :
"Nītvātha durgāṁ bhadrāyāḥ samīpaṁ nṛpasattamaḥ/
Saṁprārthayetsubhadrāṁ tāṁ sarvamaṅgaḷadāyinīm//
Bhadredevī namastubhyaṁ sarvabhādrapade śubhe/
Ājñāpayatu durgāyā janmārthaṁ parameśvarī//"

214. *N.M.*, 23.58 :
"Sthāpayitvā nandagṛhe yaśodā garbhataḥ punaḥ/
Saṁbhūtāṁ tāmiti tadā bhāvayet dvija puṅgavaḥ//"

215. *N.M.*, 24.6a : "Amāvasyā dinaṁ prāpya...../"
N.M., 24.14a : "Saptapurakasaṁ rājan...../"

216. *S.S.*, 1970, September 2, (quoted).

217. *Ibid.*

218. Karmāṅgī quoted in *S.S.*, 1970, September 2 :
"Bhādrapadasinī vālye kuryyāttupiṣṭakottamam/
Śraddhayāṁ pūjayet vipraḥ purāṇaṁ puruṣottamam//"

219. *N.M.*, 25.1a : "Śukḷāyāmatha pañcamyāṁ...../"
N.M., 25.14b-15a :
"Evaṁ ṣoḍaśasaṁkhyāni dināni nṛpasttama//
Kuryyāllakṣmīvratamidaṁ sarveṣāṁ hitakāmyayā/"

220. *N.M.*, 25.3 :
"Śukḷāṣṭamī dine prātaḥ pūjānantarato nṛpa/
Lakṣmīṁ prati jagannāthānmālyamājñāsvarūpakam//"

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221. *S.S.*, 1969, September 24.

222. *N.M.*, 25.25b-26a :
"Satvaṁ prabho nijasyāsya pārśvasya parivarttanam//
Kuru lokahitārthāya nāśāya ca durātmanām/"

223. *N.M.*, 25.16b : "Ekādaśyāṁ ca śukḷāyāṁ...../"

224. *N.M.*, 25.23a : "Agniśarmā tataḥ peṭī samutpheṭanamācaret/"

225. *N.M.*, 25.23b : "Puṣpāñjaḷiṁ pragṛhyātha pārthayedati bhaktitaḥ//"

226. *N.M.*, 25.30b-31a :
"Baḷasya jagadīśasya bhadrāyāśca manoramāḥ//
Pratyarccāśca pṛthakkṛtvā puṣpāñjaḷi manuttamam/"

227. *N.M.*, 25.32a : "Tato vandāpanāṁ kṛtvā peṭyāśca dṛḍha mudraṇam/"

228. *N.M.*, 26.33a : "Bhādravasya ca śukḷāyāṁ dvādaśyāṁ vudhavāsare/"

229. *N.M.*, 26.1b : "Pavitrāyāḥ puraḥ kuryyād varuṇārccana muttamam//"

230. *N.M.*, 26.4 :
"Sahasrahomaṁ vai kuryyānmantrarājena mantravit/
Abhāvena tadarddhaṁ syāttadabhāve satatrayam//"

231. *N.M.*, 26.13a : "Pavitrācchādanaṁ tatra...../"

232. *N.M.*, 26.15a : "Cakramantreṇa manasā sthāpayecca sudarśanam/"

233. *N.M.*, 26.17b : "Dvādaśyāṁ ca tithau prātaḥ pūjānte tvadhivasitam//"

234. *N.M.*, 26.18b : "Mahāsnānaṁ vidhānena...../"

235. *N.M.*, 26.28 :
"Dvitīyakāḷa pūjārthaṁ...../
Naivedyaṁ pracuraṁ divyaṁ...../"

236. *Chāraṇa*, p.18.

237. *N.M.*, 26.32a : "Pavitrotsavametaṁ vai prativarṣaṁ dvijottamāḥ/"
N.M., 26.25a : "Varṣapūjā phaḷaprāptyai...../"

238. *N.M.*, 26.39a : "Vandāpayettadā vaktyā janmārthaṁ vāmanasya tu/"

239. *N.M.*, 26.38a : "Tato madhyāhnapūjante...../"

240. *N.M.*, 26.40 :
"Ājñāpaya jagannātha vāmanotpatti hetave/
Nānāvatāraḷīḷānāṁ pravarttaka jagadguro//"

241. *N.M.*, 26.44b : "Suvarṇasya paḷenaiva vāmana pratimāṁ śubhām//"

242. *N.M.*, 26.47b : "Aditergarbhato jātaṁ vāmanaṁ taṁ...../"

243. *N.M.*, 26.50a : "Vāmanaṁ garuḍasyāgre brahmacārī svārupiṇam/"

244. *N.M.*, 26.52 :
"Agnikoṇe tato durgā varttate suravanditā/
Tāṁ tu saṁprārthayantaṁ taṁ vāmanaṁ bhāvayediti//"

245. *N.M.*, 26.56a : "Durgāyā sahitaṁ pañcopacāraiḥ saṁprapūjayet/"

246. *N.M.*, 26.57 : "Tātsau svagate rakṣedutsavasya samāpane/"

247. Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa and Kāḷasāra quoted in *S.S.*, 1969, September 24 :

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"Bhādremāsi śītapakṣe śravaṇā dvādaśīyadi/
Sakramutthāpaye tatra śravaṇe tad viyogataḥ//"

248. *N.M.*, 27.5a : "Sthāne tasmin prathamato varuṇārcana mācaret/"
N.M., 27.9b : "Aṣṭākṣareṇa mantreṇa sahasraṁ homayedbudhaḥ//"

249. *N.M.*, 27.12a : "Śakradhvajasya daṇḍasya hastānāṁ pañcaviṁśatiḥ/"
N.M., 27.13 :
"Tatkāṣṭhaṁ khadiraṁ caiva daravaṁ chedavarjitam/
Athavā campakaṁ kuryādurjvanīyaṁ ca sāḷakam//"

250. *N.M.*, 27.29b : "Dhvajaṁ pañcopacāreṇa pūjayet dina saptakam//"

251. *N.M.*, 27.28b : "Dhvajasya dikṣu sarvāsu dikpāḷavaḷimācaret//"

252. *Ibid.*, and *N.M.*, 27.29b.

253. *N.M.*, 28.7 :
"Śakradhvaja samīpe tāṁ pratyarccāṁ ca nivesayet/
Śakradhvajaṁ ca govindaṁ cakraṁ ca pūjakottamaḥ/"

254. *N.M.*, 28.9 :
"Dvādaśīdinato rājan naktaṁ ca saptam. 'hani/
Vāsavīyaṁ dhvajaṁ toye visṛjya tvaritaṁ kṣipet//"

255. *N.M.*, 28.10 :
"Aṣṭame'hni dhvajaṁ ye ca paśyanti nṛpasattama/
Bhavedvaṁśa kṣayasteṣāṁ sukṛtaṁ ca vinaśyati//"

256. *N.M.*, 27.30 :
"Etasmin pūjite śakradhvaje nṛpatisattama/
Kadācinmbhayaṁ rājye durbhikṣaṁ narakaṁ pacet//"

257. *N.M.*, 27.31a : "Indrastu prītimāsādya kāḷe'mvu varṣaṇaṁ caret/"

258. *N.M.*, 28.13b : "Āśvinasyāśite pakṣe'ṣṭamyāṁ ca sumuhūrttake//"

259. *N.M.*, 28.14b : "Jayadurgāṁ suvarnena racitāṁ sumanoharām//"
N.M., 28.15 :
"Bhadrāntike'pe sannyasya subhadrāṁ prārthayeddvijaḥ/
Bhadredevī namastubhyamājñāpaya sureśvarī//"

260. *N.M.*, 28.16 :
"Durgotsavāṅgabhūtāya sahasrakumbhakena tu/
Abhiṣekāya girijāṁ jagadānanda kāriṇīm//"

261. *N.M.*, 28.17b-18a :
"Ānīya durgādevyāyai prāsādasya ca puruataḥ//
Maṇḍape'tra manoramye nānā maṇḍana maṇḍite/"

262. *N.M.*, 28.19b : "Ācāryyo varuṇārccāṁ sa kuryyātpañcopacārataḥ//
N.M., 28.20b : "So'marāvaraṇaṁ brahmā brahmāvaraṇamevaca//"

263. *N.M.*, 28.29a : "Samādhavāṁ nyasya durgāṁ ratnasiṁhāsane vibhoḥ/"
N.M., 28.30b : "Mādhavaṁ durgāyāṁ sārddhaṁ pūjārthaṁ karuṇānidhe//"

264. *N.M.*, 28.32a : "Durgeyaṁ pūjitā tāvanmādhavena samaṁ śubhe/"

265. *N.M.*, 28.43b : ".....navamyāṁ pūjayettataḥ//"
N.M., 28.46a : "Sa muhūrtte daśamyāṁ vai prātaḥ pūjā vasānateḥ/"

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266. *N.M.*, 28.51a : "Vijayāṁ ca daśamyāṁ vai hyutsavāya janārddana/"

267. *N.M.*, 28.52 :
"Haridrāvarnarucire bhadre bhādrapade śubhe/
Utsavāya daśamyāṁ tāṁ durgāmājñā payeśvarīm//"

268. *N.M.*, 28.55 :
"Mahotsavaṁ vidhāyāśu prāsādabhramaṇaṁ tathā/
Kṛtvārddhāsani paryyantaṁ nītvā pañcopacārtaḥ//"

269. *N.M.*, 28.56b : "..... tataḥ svapadaṁ ānayet//"

270. *N.M.*, 28.35b : "Śraddhayāpi mayādattaṁ sarvakāmaprade śubhe//"

271. *N.M.*, 28.35a : "Pādyaṁ gṛhāṇa tvaṁ durge mārgaśrama vināśakam/"

272. *N.M.*, 28.58a : "Ekādaśyāṁ tithau...../"
N.M., 28.70 :
"Evaṁ rūpeṇa rājendra dāmodaramaṇāmayam/
Sa lakṣmīkaṁ yajennityaṁ kārttikaṁ paurṇamīmanum//"

273. *N.M.*, 29.22a : "Māsānāṁ pravare māsi kārttike puṇyavarddhane/"

274. *N.M.*, 29.18b : "Danti danta samudbhūtān dyutakarma prakīrttitan//"

275. *N.M.*, 29.4b : ".....Śrīmān kṣetrabhramaṇa hetave//"

276. *N.M.*, 29.7b-8a :
"Prāsāda bhramaṇaṁ kṛtvā cāṅgirāśrama mārgataḥ//
Yameśvarāntikaṁ nītvā tatra gandhādinā yajet/"

277. *N.M.*, 29.49-50 :
"Sāyaṁpūjāvasānepi jagannāthāntikaṁ punaḥ/
Nārāyaṇa pratikṛtiṁ śobhamānāṁ nayettadā//
Lakṣmīpate namastestu lokānugrahakāraka/
Nārāyaṇa pratikṛtimājñāpaya sureśvara//"
N.M., 29.51a : "Dīpotsavāya sarvādvaṁ...../"

278. *N.M.*, 29.63 :
"Vaṭamūlaṁ tatogatvā prārthayedvaṭamuttamam/
Vaṭavṛkṣa namaste'stu viṣṇu rūpo'si nānyathā//"

279. *N.M.*, 29.65a : "Gaṇeśa ullasaddeha sarvavighna vināśaka/"
N.M., 29.68 :
"Ekaviṁśati saṁkhyātān goghṛtaiḥ paripūritān/
Saptapaṁkti sthitān dīpān saṁskṛtānarpayedvudhaḥ//"

280. *N.M.*, 29.28a : "Halāyudha namastestu nidrāṁ muñca prabho'dhunā/"
N.M, 29.31b-32a :
"Nidrāsukhaṁ prabhajase tadante sāṁprataṁ prabho//
Uttiṣṭhottiṣṭha devendra aparādhaṁ kṣamasva me/"
N.M., 29.34b : "Nidrāṁ muñca jaganmāta maṅgalāni prayaccha me//"

281. *N.M.*, 29.43b : "Dvādaśyāṁ ca tithau rājan sāyaṁ pūjāvasānataḥ//"
N.M., 29.46 :
"Nidrāṁ muñca khagaśreṣṭha tvaṁ viṣṇorvāhanottama/
Jātamutthāpanaṁ viddhi...../"

282. *N.M.*, 30.2 :

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"Mārgaśīrṣasya māsasya kṛṣṇapakṣe śubhodaye/
Pañcamīdivase tāvatkṣetrabhramaṇamācaret//"

283. *N.M.*, 30.3a : "Mārkaṇḍeyāvaṭe ramye prathamaṁ snānamācaret/"
N.M., 30.5b-6a :
"Tīrthottama namaste'stu sarvapāpa vināśaka//
Mārkaṇḍeyena muninā vinirmita supāvana/"

284. *Ibid.*

285. *N.M.*, 30.61b : "Kṛtvāpradakṣiṇaṁ kuryyāccaturvāraṁ śanaiḥ śanaiḥ//

286. *N.M.*, 30.62a : "Stūyāt puruṣasūktena puruṣaḥ puruṣottamam/"
N.M., 30.63b : "Hṛddeśe hastayugaḷaṁ putīkṛtya viṁsāpate//"

287. *N.M.*, 30.64a : "Kuryyātpradakṣiṇaṁ viṣṇornakuryyādvāhukampanam/"

288. *N.M.*, 31.1a : "Darśānte tato gacchet śvetagaṅgā śubhodayām/"

289. *N.M.*, 31.4b-5a :
"Śvetamatsyakanāmānau paśyatāṁ sarvakāmadau//
Śvetamādhavadeveśaṁ paśyatāṁ muktidāyakam/"

290. *N.M.*, 31.8a : "Ugrasenasthaḷaṁ gatvā...../"
N.M., 31.10b : "Hanumantaṁ tato dṛṣṭvā...../"

291. *N.M.*, 31.14 :
"Vālukā vedikāṁ kṛtvā...../
Tatra cakra vidhāyātha tanmadhye jagadīśvaram//"
N.M., 31.15b : "Upacāraiḥ ṣoḍaśabhirmanasā pūjayeddvijaḥ//"

292. *N.M.*, 31.16a : "Athavā pañcabhi stāvadupacārairhariṁ yajet/"

293. *N.M.*, 31.17b : "Samudre snānukāmaṁ māṁ...../"
N.M., 31.18b : "Samudraṁ taṁ namaskṛtya prārthayedatibhaktitaḥ//"
N.M., 31.19a : "Tīrtharāja namaste'stu namaste saritāṁ pate/"

294. *N.M.*, 31.22a : "Tīrtharājaṁ namaskuryyāttataśca tarpaṇādikam/"

295. *N.M.*, 31.30a : "Ālamvā dakṣiṇe kṛtvā indradyumna sarovrajet/"
N.M., 31.31a : "Indradyumna namastubhyaṁ namaste'mṛtadāyaka/"
N.M., 31.32a : "Ityuktvātajjaḷe snātvā tarpaṇādikamācaret/"

296. *N.M.*, 31.45b : "Stutvā paramayā bhaktyā tato nijagṛhaṁ vrajet//"

297. *N.M.*, 31.44a : "Tṛtīyāvaraṇaṁ rājan...../"

298. *S.S.*, 1970, September 25.

299. *N.M.*, 31.47 :
"Tataḥ ṣaṣṭhīdine prātaḥ kṛtanitya kriyaḥ śuciḥ/
Devārccanādikaṁ kṛtvā yathāśakti dvijanmane//"

300. *N.M.*, 31.48b-c :
"Evaṁ yaḥ kurute bhūpa kṣetrabhramaṇamādarāt/
Pṛthivyāḥ śatavāreṇa bhramanāt phaḷamālabhet//"

301. *N.M.*, 31.49-50a :
"Tato'ṣṭamīdine prātaḥ pūjānantarato nṛpa/
Mahāsnāna vidhiṁ kuryādviṣṇostasya kṛpānidheḥ//
Sarvāṅge candanaṁ datvā navyavastrārpaṇaṁ caret/"

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302. *S.S.*, 1969, December 3.

303. *Ibid.*

304. *N.M.*, 31.58 :
"Dadyānnavānnamatulaṁ haraye vividhaṁ vahu/
Nānāpūpasamāyuktaṁ vyañjanāvaḷi saṁyutam//"

305. *N.M.*, 31.60b : "Kṛṣṇāyāṁ ca caturddaśyāṁ...../"

306. *N.M.*, 31.61b-62a :
"Tanmadhye goghṛtaiḥ purnānaṣṭāviṁśati saṁkhyakān//
Tripaṁktikatayā dīpān sthāpayedati bhaktitaḥ/"

307. *N.M.*, 31.63a : "Daśa cāmvujanetrārthamantaḥ karpūra varttikām/"

308. *N.M.*, 31.65a : "Samarpayāmi dīpāṁstvaṁ gṛhāṇa parameśvara/"

309. *N.M.*, 31.69 :
"Ekādaśī vadācāryyāḥ kuryurnirājanaṁ mudā/
Prāsādaṁ bhrāmayītvā tu darśayeyuśca cakriṇam//"
N.M., 31.70a : "Prāsādamuḷatastāvadaśikhaṁ dīpamaṇḍanam/"

310. *N.M.*, 31.70b : "Kuryyāddarśadine kuryyāddevaṁ ca pratipattithau//"

311. *N.M.*, 31.71a : "Tasyāṁ pratipada śrīman tithau caivātithi priya/"

312. *N.M.*, 31.74b : "Pratimāstāḥ samānīya devāgre...../"

313. *N.M.*, 31.75b : "Āśīrvādaṁ paraṁ kuryyāttadā vaidikamantrataḥ//"

314. *N.M.*, 31.77b : "Svasthāne sthāpayettasmāt pratimāstāḥ parantapa//"

315. *N.M.*, 31.89a : "Evaṁ kuryyātsuvastrāṇāmadhivāsa vidhiṁ...../"

316. *N.M.*, 31.78a : "Śukḷāyāmatha pañcamyāṁ...../"

317. *N.M.*, 31.90a : "Tataḥ ṣaṣṭhī dine...../"

318. *Svarṇa*, 20.112-113.

319. *N.M.*, 31.91a : "Adhivāsita dravyāṇi navāni vividhāni ca/"
N.M., 31.92a : "Prāsādaṁ bhrāmayeyuste trivāraṁ tāṁ surānapi/"

320. *N.M*, 31.93a : "Ācchāditāṁśukaṁ tāvadvahiskṛtya susaṁyataḥ/"

321. *L.V.*, p.109 and fn.106.

322. *N.M.*, 32.1a : "Pauṣemāsi mahīnātha amāvasyā dine punaḥ/"

323. *N.M.*, 32.3a : "Pūjānte viṣṇave dadyāddivyāṁścutāṁkurānapi/"

324. *N.M.*, 32.4a : "Atha puṣyābhiṣekasya...../"

325. *N.M.*, 32.6a : "Ekādasyāṁ ca śukḷāyāṁ...../"

326. *N.M.*, 33.1a : "Uttarāyaṇe ca tadviṣṇo...../"

327. *R.J.A.*, II, p.107.

328. *N.M.*, 33.4a : "Makarasya ca saṁkrāntyāḥ pūrvedyuḥ keśavasya ca/"

329. *N.M.*, 33.27a : "Evaṁ kuryyāttaṇḍuḷānāmadhivāsaṁ paraṁ tapa/"

330. *N.M.*, 33.6b : "Prāsāda bhramaṇārthaṁ vai bhramaṇāya tava probho//"

331. *N.M.*, 33.8b : "Vāratrayaṁ tato divye vimāne cāru maṇḍaḷe//"

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332. *N.M.*, 33.11b : "Etatnavāṅka bhramaṇe...../"

333. *N.M.*, 33.27b : "Saṁkrāntidinataḥ prātaḥ pūjānantarato nṛpa//"
N.M., 33.28a : "Mahāsnānaṁ hareḥ kāryyaṁ...../"

334. *N.M.*, 33.22a : "Etat bhramaṇakāḷe tu kalpadrumavarānnaraḥ/"

335. *N.M.*, 33.46a : "Māghamāsasya śukḷāyāṁ pañcamyāṁ nṛpasattama/"

336. *N.M.*, 33.59b : "Vasantaguṇḍicetyevaṁ paśyan...../"

337. *N.M.*, 33.57a : "...nayedjajñavedyāntikaṁ...../"

338. *N.M.*, 33.74a : "Vasanta bhramaṇasyāsya...../"

339. *N.M.*, 33.72b-73 :
"Evaṁ vidhaṁ prakurvīta saptavāsarato nṛpa//
Athavā pañcadivasaṁ tridinaṁ vā mahotsavam/"

340. *N.M.*, 34.5-6a :
"Phālgunasya ca māsasya śukḷapakṣe śubhodaye/
Phalgutsavaṁ prakurvīta pañca vā tridināni vā//
Tithau daśamyāṁ rājendra nīlācalapateḥ prabhoḥ/"

341. *N.M.*, 34.13 :
"Śvetaṁ raktaṁ tathā pītaṁ phalgucandana nirmitam/
Śirasaḥ pādaparyyantaṁ prakṣipeddevasattamān//"
N.M., 34.10a : "Karpūrakṣoda saṁyuktai scandanīyaiśca phalgubhiḥ/"

342. *N.M.*, 34.31b : "Caturdaśī tithau bhūpa...../"

343. *N.M.*, 34.33 :
"Prāsāda bhramaṇaṁ kṛtvā doḷamaṇḍapa pūrvataḥ/
Nītvā vahnyutsavaṁ kṛtvā...../"

344. *N.M.*, 34.36b : "Doḷamaṇḍapa nirmāṇaṁ tathaiva ca yathāvidhi//"

345. *N.M.*, 34.36c-d :
"Doḷamaṇḍapa pūrve hi sāmānya gṛhanirmitam///
Kṛtvā dvāradvayaṁ tatra pūrvapaścima deśataḥ////"

346. *N.M.*, 34.37a : "Tadgṛhābhyantare vahnerdāhakaṁ meṣapuṅgavam/"

347. *N.M.*, 34.53a : "Datvā yajñendhanai stāvad vahniṁ prajvaḷayettataḥ/"

348. *N.M.*, 34.90a : "Aṣṭākṣareṇa mantreṇa śatamaṣṭottaraṁ hunet/"

349. *N.M.*, 34.91b : "Pūrṇāhutiṁ kṛte tāvatyātrā...../"
N.M., 34.97a : "Agne visarjanaṁ kṛtvā...../"

350. *N.M.*, 34.100a : "Saptavāraṁ tadā vahniṁ pratyarcāṁ bhrāmayennṛpa/"

351. *N.M.*, 34.102a : "Etat prāsāda pūrvehi maṇḍapaḥ śobhanodayaḥ/"

352. *N.M.*, 34.108b : "Vedīdvayaṁ mahīpāḷa kuryyāccārutaraṁ param//"
N.M., 34.110a : "Tatra doḷāgatatuḷāṁ nānā ratna samujjvaḷām/"

353. *N.M.*, 34.112b : "Govindanāma pratyarccāṁ nītvā viṣṇvantike nyaset//"

354. *N.M.*, 34.120 :
"Tasyāḥ pratikṛterbhūpa viṣṇostasya parātmanaḥ/
Nāstibhedo jagatyasmin...../"

355. *N.M.*, 34.122a : "Tato govindamānandād visvadhātrīṁ ramāṁ tathā/"

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356. *N.M.*, 34.122b : "Saptavāraṁ bhrāmayedvai devānabhi nṛpottama//"

357. *N.M.*, 34.126b : "Pañcopacārataḥ pūjāṁ kuryyādāryya.....//"

358. *N.M.*, 34.128a : "Bhrāmayetsaptaso bhaktyā prāsādaparita stadā/"

359. *R.J.A.*, II, pp.111-112; *J.M.*, p.145.

360. *N.M.*, 34.164a : "Dhyāyetkeḷi kadamvamūḷaniḷayaṁ vṛndāvane śobhane/"
N.M., 34.165b : "Krīḍantaṁ navamanju goparamaṇījuṣṭaṁ sahṛṣṭāntikam//"

361. *N.M.*, 34.186a : "Kaṁsādayo hatāḥ sarve rākṣasā lokahiṁsakāḥ/"
N.M., 34.187a : "Pūtanā nihatā yen...../"

362. *N.M*, 34.186b : "Yenatvayā jagannātha govindāya namo'stute//"

363. *Chāraṇa*, p.23.

364. *N.M.*, 34.197-213.

365. *N.M.*, 35.2a : "Caitre śukḷāṣṭamī yāvattithiḥ...../"

366. *N.M.*, 35.3a : "Kauśalyāyāśca śāntyarthaṁ kṣāḷitānnaṁ ca pāyasam/"

367. *N.M.*, 35.5a : "Navamyāṁ tu tithau...../"

368. *N.M.*, 35.7b : "Tato Rāmapratikṛtiṁ jagadīśāntike nyaset//"
N.M., 35.9a : "Ājñāpaya mahāvāho rāmajanmotsavāya vai/"

369. *N.M.*, 35.24 :
"Suvarṇa racitāṁ rāma pratimāṁ sumanoramām/
Pañcāmṛtena saṁsnāpya kauśalyādara saṁsthitam//"

370. *N.M.*, 35.42b : "Kandarpastu suraśreṣṭha pūjyaḥsyād vaitavājñayā//"

371. *N.M.*, 35.43b-44a :
"..... devāṅgānmālyamāharet//
Rāmaṁ kṛṣṇaṁ tathā kāmaṁ pratidadyāt pṛthak pṛthak/"

372. *N.M.*, 35.45a : "Vāsayitvā devayāne tatastaṁ pattameva ca/"

373. *N.M.*, 35.50a : "Gāyatryā kāmadevasya sahasraṁ saṁhuneddvijaḥ/"

374. *N.M.*, 35.52 :
"Pūrṇāhutiṁ tato datvā kuryyāt puṇyāhavācanam/
Evaṁ yadā mahīnātha homakarma samācaret//"

375. *N.M.*, 35.54a : "Kāmaṁ pañcopacāreṇa pūjayet pāyasena ca/"

376. *N.M.*, 35.63 :
"Prāsāda pūrvato ramye caturddvāra vibhūṣite/
Catursre vitānadi sphurite maṇḍapottame//"

377. *N.M.*, 35.78 :
"Mahotsavaṁ vidhāyātha bhrāmayitvā trivārataḥ/
Prāsādaṁ ca...../"

378. *N.M.*, 35.79a : "Devāgre sthāpayeyuste tān damanakān drumān/"

379. *N.M.*, 35.80a : "Upacāraiḥ pañcabhirvā tataḥ saṁskṛtya prārthayet/"

380. Bhaviṣya purāṇa, quoted in *Chāraṇa*, p.24,
"Caitra śukḷa trayodasyāṁ madanaṁ damanātmakam/"

381. *N.M.*, 35.72b : "Adhunā vṛkṣarūpeṇa jātaḥ so'yaṁ mahitaḷe//"

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382. *N.M.*, 35.73a : "Suprīto bhavadeveśa atra damanaka drume/"

383. *N.M.*, 36.2a : "Meṣa māsasya saṁkrāntyāṁ...../"

384. *N.M.*, 36.6b-7a :
"Atho vaiśākha māsasya śuklapakṣe śubhodaye//
Tṛtīyāyāṁ tithau...../"

385. *N.M.*, 36.10 :
"Sahasrapaḷasaṁkhyātaṁ candanaṁ cārupeṣitam/
Pātayetcandane tatra...../"

386. *N.M.*, 36.21b : "Prāsādaṁ bhrāmayitvā ca candanaṁ tattrivārataḥ//"

387. *N.M.*, 36.22b : "Tato pañcopacāreṇa śītadravyaiśca pūjayet//"

388. *N.M.*, 36.34 :
"Lakṣmīṁ ca mādhavaṁ viśvadhātrīṁ ca sva sva mantrataḥ/
Lepayeccandanai divairgandhavyāpta digantaraiḥ//"

389. *N.M.*, 36.44b : "Kṛṣṇaṁ madana gopālaṁ lakṣmīṁ pṛthvīṁ tathā prabho//"

390. *N.M.*, 36.45a : "Ājñāpaya surādhīśa jaḷakrīḍā kṛte hare/"

391. *R.J.A.*, pp.117-118.

392. *N.M.*, 36.57a : "Tato naukāyugme lamve dāravaṁ maṇḍapaṁ caret/"

393. *N.M.*, 36.76a : "Jaḷe'smin bhrāmayet bhūpa trivāraṁ ca śanaiḥ śanaiḥ/"

394. *N.M.*, 36.87b : "Jaḷabhramaṇayātrā tāmekaviṁśatibhirdinaiḥ//"

395. *N.M.*, 36.53b-54a :
"Vanayāga vidhānena vanādānīya yānivai//
Sthitāni tāni kāṣṭhāni pūrvadvāra praveśataḥ/"

396. *N.M.*, 36.55 :
"Śiḷpibhyaḥ pradadau...../
Tato gacchetsuraśreṣṭha mahotsava tayā punaḥ//"

397. *N.M.*, 36.102a : "Caitra kṛṣṇa tṛtīyāyāṁ vanayāga vidhiṁ caret/"

398. *N.M.*, 36.108b : "Śāstrābhiḥ saṁskṛtiṁ kṛtvā vṛkṣacchedanamācaret//"

399. *N.M.*, 36.112a : "Prāsāda pūrve kāṣṭhāni vanādānıya yatnataḥ/"
N.M., 36.110a : "Tādṛśaiḥ kāṣṭhajāḷaisca rathatraya vinirmitam/"

400. *P.M.*, 33.1-9.

401. *N.M.*, 36.114 :
"Etad vidhiṁ vinābhūpa rathānāṁ ghatane kṛte/
Vighno bhavedrathānāṁ ca bhaṅghaḥ kṛtra ca kutracit//"

402. *N.M.*, 36.137 :
"Caturddaśyāṁ mahāsnānaṁ kṛtvā candana lepanam/
Navīnavastrāḷaṁkārottama mālyabharairharim//"

403. *N.M.*, 36.138b : "Tadante ca nṛsiṁhākhyāṁ pratyarccāṁ nikaṭe nyaset//"
N.M., 36.140b : "Ājñāpaya tu pratyarccāṁ nṛsiṁha janmane prabho//"

404. *N.M.*, 36.143 :
"Jyeṣṭhasya kṛṣṇaikādaśyāṁdarśe ṣaṣṭhī dine'śīte/
Candanāṅgārcanātpūrvaṁ pratyarccāṁ nyasya pūjayet//"

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405. *N.M.*, 37.1a : "Tithau daśamyāṁ śukḷāyāṁ sāyaṁ pūjā samāpane/"
N.M., 37.3a : "Rāja rājendra saṁkhyātābhiṣekāya mahāprabho/"

406. *N.M.*, 37.18a : "Ekādaśyāṁ tithau prātaḥ pūjāyajñanato hareḥ/"

407. *N.M.*, 37.19b : "Idānīṁ rukmiṇī viṣṇo hṛtvā pariṇayiṣyati//"

408. *N.M.*, 37.26 :
"Prāsāda pūrvabhāge tu maṇḍape cārumaṇḍite/
Tatra madhye suparyyaṅke rukmaṇyā sahitaṁ harim//"

409. *N.M.*, 37.37b : "Kariṣye'haṁ dvijadvārā karma vaivāhikaṁ śubham//"

410. *N.M.*, 37.30a : "Jaḷalīḷā kṛte śrīmān govindaṁ parameśvaram/"

411. *N.M.*, 37.105a : "Dvādaśyāṁ ca tithau prātarnidrābhaṅga jagatpateḥ/"

412. *N.M.*, 37.106 :
"Taddine tu sthite daṇḍe kāḷe kṛṣṇaṁ ca rukmiṇīm/
Punarnitvā hareḥ pārśve vāsayitvā tu prārthayet//"

413. *N.M.*, 37.107b-108 :
"Ājñāpaya mahāvāho ŚrīKṛṣṇaṁ rukmiṇīṁ prati//
Vivāha utsava kāryyānte bhramaṇāya sulīḷayā/
Ityuktvā ca srajaṁ datvā mahotsava samanvitau//"

414. *N.M.*, 37.110b : "Prāsādaṁ prati svasthāne sthāpayedati yatnataḥ//"

415. *N.M.*, 37.111 :
"Tata sthasyāṁ caturddaśyāṁ rātrau ca ghaṭikātataḥ/
Tayośca deva vidhinā caturthī karma saṁcaret//"

416. *N.M.*, 37.114 :
"Lakṣmyāśca jagadīśasya paraspara vilokanam/
Āṣāḍha māsasya śukḷā pañcamī ca yadā bhavet//"

417. Hātī Veśa - Jyeṣṭha Pūrṇimā (The full-moon day of Jyeṣṭha).
Vanabhoji Veśa - Bhādrava Kṛṣṇa Daśamī (The tenth day of the dark part of the month).
Sunā Veśa - Āṣāḍha Śukḷa Ekādaśī and Kārttika Pūrṇimā.
Kāliya Daḷana Veśa - Bhādrava Kṛṣṇa (dark) Ekādaśī (11th day).
Pralambāsura Vadha Veśa - Bhādrava Kṛṣṇa (dark) Dvādaśī (12th day).
Rāma Balarāma Veśa - Bhādrava Kṛṣṇa (dark) Trayodaśī (13th day).
Bali Vāmana Veśa - Bhādrava Śukḷa (bright) Ekādaśī (11th day).
Rādha Dāmodara Veśa - From the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of Āśvina to the tenth day of the same part of Kārttika.
Thiākiā Veśa - The eleventh day of the bright fortnight of Kārttika.
Bāṅka Cuḍā Veśa - The next day (Dvādaśī) of Kārttika.
Āḍakiā Veśa - The 13th day of the bright part of Kārttika.
Dāḷakiā Veśa - The 14th day of the same part of Kārttika.
Rāja Veśa - The full-moon day of Pauṣa and the full-moon day of Phālguna.
Padma Veśa - The second day of the bright fortnight of the month of Māgha.
Gaja Uddhāraṇa Veśa - The full-moon day of Māgha.

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APPENDIX - II

NAVAKALEVARA

The *Nīlādri-mahodayam* does not include the great Navakalevara festival of Lord Jagannātha. This festival does not occur in every year. It comes just once in every twelve or nineteen years. New images of the four deities Jagannātha, Balabhadra, Subhadrā and Sudarśana are made on this occasion and a lot of rituals are performed to install the images on Ratna Siṁhāsana.

Navakalevara is the unique ceremony of the 'Birth' and the 'Death' of the Lord of the world'. The word Navakalevara means the new embodiment, so is called the ceremony which goes for the periodical renewal of the wooden images in the Jagannātha temple. This ceremony is unique in many respects in the field of Hindu religious worship. It involves a total replacement of the four worshipable images through the new ones after an interval of 19 years or sometimes even after 12 years. The old statues are then discarded and burried underground.

The main principle adopted to fix the year of renewal is to find whether that year has two Āṣāḍhas. This other Āṣāḍha is an extra month which is added to the lunar calendar of the Hindus after every 32 months and 16 days in order to make up for the deficiency of a lunar month (29.5 days) against a solar month (30.44 days), i.e., of 0.94 day every month. The extra Āṣāḍha month is known as 'Puruṣottama-māsa' all over India. It is sometimes also called as Adhimāsa, whereas the common people term it 'Maḷamāsa'.

The Daitās play a very important role in the ceremony of Navakalevara. They are believed to be the descendants of the Śabara Viśvāvasu, who, according to the legend of the foundation of the Jagannātha temple, worshipped Jagannātha (in the Nīlamādhava form) in a forest before Vidyāpati, the Brāhmin minister of the King Indradyumna of Malwa could find Him out with the help of this Śabara. According to some popular versions of the legend, the Śabara did this favour to Vidyāpati only at the request of his daughter Lalitā who had been deeply in love with this Brāhmin from Malwa. The off-springs of Lalitā and Vidyāpati are known as (Vidya) Pati Mahāpātras. They also discharge important functions in the temple. Besides the Daitās and Pati Mahāpātras, the Brāhmin priests, especially the Rājaguru of the Gajapati King of Puri have the important functionaries in the ceremony of Navakalevara. They take the charge of performing the forest sacrifice and the consecration of the images.

Setting out in search of Dāru

A sacred journey for finding out the Dāru (wood) for the deities commences on the tenth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Caitra. The expedition starts by the orders of the Gajapati King of Puri. The temple servants who constitute the nucleus of the party are the Daitās, the Pati Mahāpātra, the three Karaṇas (Deula Karaṇa, Taḍāu Karaṇa and Pāḍiyā Karaṇa), four carpenters and Leṅkā. The rest of the party consists of the Brāhmins required for performing the fire-sacrifice as well as the persons like police constables and the like for

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discharging various worldly functions. The other temple servants who take part in the function are Bhitara chu Mahāpātra, Mekāpa, Rājaguru and the Beharaṇa Khuṇṭiā.

To locate and fetch the four Dārus, 28 Daitās are selected, 21 of whom go to the forest whereas 7 stay back in Puri as a sort of 'reserve force' to be called to the forest if and when required. After the mid-day 'Dhūpa' the Mahāpātras take down the four garlands (Ājñāmāḷās) from the deities and distribute the three garlands of Balabhadra, Subhadrā and Jagannātha to the three leaders of the group. The Ājñāmāḷā of Lord Jagannātha indicates the deity's permission for the expedition. Then the Daitās are offered silken Sari by Bhitara chu Mahāpātra. The chiefs are presented the silken cloth of 6 meters length whereas others receive the same cloth of only 2 meters length. Another temple servant called Mekāpa then applies sandal paste and red powder, etc., on the forehead of all the Daitās to mark the auspicious beginning of the Yātrā in search of the Dārus. The store-keeper (Bhitara chu Mahāpātra) then comes to the 'Jaya Vijaya' gate and binds a full length of the silken Sari on the forehead of the Deuḷa Karaṇa, Taḍāu Karaṇa and the Beharaṇa Khuṇṭiā.

The whole party including the four carpenters, three Karaṇas, twenty-one Daitās, the Pati Mahāpātra, the Leṅkā, the Brāhmins and the administrative authorities proceed to the palace of the king of Puri. The party moves with the accompaniment of the music of conches, trumpets, drums and gongs, etc. The king greets the party with the help of his Rājaguru.

Thereafter, the party, together with the Rājaguru leave for Jagannātha Vallabha Maṭha, from where they resume their expedition to Kākaṭapur, a place situated on the bank of the river Prācī. This place is famous for the goddess Maṅgaḷā. There is a dense forest containing mostly Neem trees at a distance of nearly 6 Kms., from the town of Kākaṭapur. The Neem trees are used in the construction of the images of the deities Jagannātha, Balabhadra, Subhadrā and Sudarśana.

Characteristic Features of the Four Neem Trees

The Neem tree which is sought after has some special attributes, like the 'Apauruṣeya Tree' (which was discovered floating on the sea). By the different characteristic features of the Dārus, they are distinguished from each other and from the other common trees. A complete list of all these features[1] is given below :

Characteristics	Dāru of			
	Jagannātha	Balabhadra	Subhadrā	Sudarśana
Colour	Dark	White	Yellowish	Reddish
Branches	Four	Seven	Five	Three
Mark	Śaṁkha and Cakra	Plough and Pestle	Lotus Flower with five petals	Cakra

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Apart from the above list, the tree of Lord Jagannātha bears of some specifics :

(a) The trunk must be straight, pleasant to look at and should have a height of 7 or 12 cubits.

(b) The tree should stand near a river or a pond or on a crossing of three ways or else be surrounded by three mountains.

(c) There should be a cremation ground near the tree.

(d) There should be a temple dedicated to Śiva in the neighbourhood of the tree.

(e) There should be some hermitage not too far off from the tree.

(f) The tree should be free from parasite plants and creepers.

(g) There should not be the nests of birds on the tree - "no bird had ever perched over the tree".

(h) The tree must not have been struck by lightning nor partially broken before by storm, etc.

(i) There should be an ant-hill (Vālmīka) near the tree.

(j) There should be atleast a few snake-holes at the roots of the tree or one could spot a few snakes creeping around in its vicinity.

(k) The tree should not stand alone but be surrounded perferably with the trees of Varuṇa, Sāhāḍā and Vilva. They should be away from a human settlement, but should not stand in a swamp surrounded by marsh or mud.

Similarly, another remarkable feature of the tree of Balabhadra is that the upper branches and twigs, etc., of the tree should form a conopy looking like the hood of a cobra.

In the selection of the trees, the tree for the deity Sudarśana is spotted first which is followed by the tree of Balabhadra, Subhadrā and Jagannātha in order. The same order is maintained in bringing the Dārus to the temple and also for the ceremony of changing the life-substance of the deities. The search of the Dārus may last for a couple of weeks. When such trees are discovered the 'Vanayāga' ceremony is performed.

Rituals performed during Vanayāga

The Sudarśana Cakra brought by the Leṅkā from the temple of Jagannātha is put up near the roots of the tree immediately after spotting it. This is done to ward off the evil. The bushes, shrubs and thorns surrounding the tree are cleared of. The place is swept, besprinkled with water and possibly smeared with clay or cowdung, etc.

The first ritual observed is the 'purification of Ācārya.' The Brāhmins and the Ācārya make themselves ritually pure by taking a bath, etc., and perform a small fire-sacrifice under the tree in which 108 oblations of clarified butter are poured in the 'Vaiṣṇava' fire with the Anuṣṭubha-Mantra of Nṛsiṁha. The *Puruṣottama-Māhātmyam* of the *Skanda-Purāṇa* includes descriptions on the religious efficacy of this Mantra.[2]

The ritual bath of the tree is completed by sprinkling it with sacrificial water. The tree

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is then applied with sandal paste and vermilion etc. Flowers are offered to it. A piece of new cloth is then wrapped round the tree. Finally, the Pati Mahāpātra place on it, the Ājñāmāḷā of the Deity (brought from the main temple) of whom it is going to assume the form. Thereafter, Yajña is performed in the sacrificial pavilion erected on the western side of the tree.

The next important rite is that of aṅkurāropaṇa or the sowing of some varieties of seeds for germination. The seeds of the plants selected for sowing are barley (yava), paddy (śāli), wheat (godhūma), sesamum (tila), white mustard (sarṣapa), green beans (mudga), black beans (māṣa) and black wild rice (śyāmāka). The seeds are washed with luke-warm water to the utterance of the Vījamantra 'Vaṁ'. Some drops of the holy water of the Ganges are sprinkled on the seeds for purification. Finally, the seeds are sown in rectangular bed (in east-west direction) dug in the earth.

During the Vanayāga ceremony, some worships are offered to Varuṇa and Agni. A Bali is also offered to the sacrificial fire. On the morning of the third day of the function, the Pūrṇāhuti takes place and the homa-ritual is finished. The three axes made of gold, silver and iron which are kept in the north-west corner of the Yajñaśāḷā are then worshipped with the Astra-Mantra.

At the end of the Vanayāga, the Vidyāpati or Pati Mahāpātra touches the tree with the golden axe and then the carpenters begin to cut the tree into logs. All the Brāhmins present there chant the Vedic hymns especially the Viṣṇusūkta[3] at this time. After being cut, the tree should fall only in the eastern, northern or the north-eastern direction. Falling in other directions is considered to be inauspicious.[4] Only the trunk of the tree is required for fashioning the images. A log of about 2.5 meters in length is cut out from the tree trunk and the rest of the tree is buried underground at that very spot. The Dāru is disbarked and given a quadrangular shape.[5] It is then wrapped up in silken clothes.

Transportation of the Dāru to the Temple

The logs are transported to Puri by the carts made of the wood of a Kendu tree. The wheels of the cart are made of a Vaṭa tree whereas the axle is made of a tamarind tree. Vedic hymns are chanted while lifting and placing the Dāru on the cart. The Dāru is covered with coloured cloth pieces and tied up firmly with the cart in order to avoid the risk of falling down from it. Those carts are drawn by the people of the localities through which it passes on its way to Puri.

On reaching Puri, the logs are, for sometime, kept at Nṛsiṁha Temple of Guṇḍicā House, and then at Ālāma Caṇḍī, wherefrom they are carried in a procession to 'Dārughara' of Koili Vaikuṇṭha. Thus, the logs are finally passed through the northern gates to be finally deposited in the temple compound.[6]

Rites observed in the Temple

The logs (Dārus) are bathed together with the images of Jagannātha, Balabhadra, Subhadrā and Sudarśana on the occasion of the 'Snāna Pūrṇimā.' After the bathing ceremony of the

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deities on the full-moon day, the temple is closed for public. In a year with double Āṣāḍha, the temple remains closed for one and a half month. During this period of six weeks, the following phases of work are performed :

(1) The carving of the wooden form of the images.

(2) The consecration of the images.

(3) The burial of the images and the purificatory rites of the Daitās.

(4) Giving the final form of the wooden images and their painting, etc.

The Carving of the Wooden Form of the Images

After taking ritual bath, the Dārus are brought to Nirmāṇa-Maṇḍapa where the task of carving is begun by the carpenters (Mahāraṇās) all of whom belong to the class of Daitās.[7] The king of Puri offers silken turbans (or Sari) to these carpenters on the first day of the dark half of Āṣāḍha. This offering symbolizes the permission of the king to the carpenters to proceed with their work. The work of carving starts on the second day and simultaneously with it, the ceremony of Aṅkurāropaṇa is initiated for the consecration of the Nyāsadāru by Brāhmins. Nobody is allowed to see the images in their making except the Daitās and the Pati Mahāpātra. The *Puruṣottama-Māhātmyam* of *Skanda-Purāṇa*[8] as well as the *Nīlādri- Mahodayam*[9] strictly forbid anyone else to see the fashioning of the images or even to hear the sound. Tumultuous noise is, therefore produced with several musical instruments outside the Nirmāṇa Maṇḍapa in order to suppress and subdue the sound of the cutting and chopping etc., of the wood going on inside the closed doors. After the construction of the wooden structures of the deities, the Brahmapadārtha (soul of the image) is replaced by the concerned Daitās. The Pati Mahāpātra takes part in this work along with the Daitās. This mysterious object is placed in a cavity which is cube in its form. K.C. Mishra opines that the length, breadth and depth of this cavity amounts to 12 yavas each.[10]

The Consecration of the Images

During the construction of the images, the Brāhmin priests of the temple, the Rājaguru and some other Vedic scholars undertake the ceremony of consecration (Pratiṣṭhā). This ceremony lasts for two weeks. The piece of wood that the Brāhmin priests consecrate is known as Nyāsadāru. At the end of the ceremony, the Nyāsadāru is cut into four pieces which serve as the lids to cover the cavity after the Brahmapadārtha has been inserted into it.

The consecration ceremony takes place in the so-called Pratiṣṭhā-Maṇḍapa which is erected towards the east of the Nirmāṇa Maṇḍapa. On the first day of the Pratiṣṭhā ceremony, several Maṇḍalas are drawn at the different places of the Maṇḍapa of which the Cakrābjasarvatobhadra and Vāstu-Maṇḍalas are more important. The Ācārya wears white clothes and offers worships to Nṛsiṁha, Gaṇeśa, the Dikpāḷas, Bhairavas, Nāgas, etc. He also offers Bali to the Dikpāḷas and the Bhūtas outside the Maṇḍapa. Then, the rite of aṅkurāropaṇa is instituted. During the ceremony, the other deities worshipped are Vāsudeva, Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa and Nṛsiṁha.

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On the sixth day, the Nyāsadāru is brought into the Pratiṣṭhā-Maṇḍapa. Ritual bath (Abhiṣeka) is given to the Dāru. While bathing the Dāru, the Brāhmins recite the Puruṣasūkta for Jagannātha, the Rudrādhyaya or the Nīlasūkta for Balabhadra and the Śrīsūkta for Subhadrā. After abhiṣeka the Dāru is worshipped in sixteen Upacāras.

The next day, the Ācārya performs Āvaraṇapūjā and worships the deities belonging to the Cakrābjamaṇḍala. Then, the letters, syllables, words, word-groups and the four metrical feet of the Anuṣṭubha-Nṛsiṁha-Mantrarāja of Nṛsiṁha are placed on the different parts of the 'body' of the Nyāsadāru.[11] The Mantrarāja-Nṛsiṁha-Nyāsa is followed by the own Nyāsas of the triad of Jagannātha; i.e., for Jagannātha the Keśavādi-Nyāsa, for Balabhadra the Śaivite Śrīkanṭhādi-Nyāsa and for Subhadrā the Kalā-Nyāsa are performed. In this way, a series of Nyāsas numbering about thirty are followed. Thus, the Dāru gets life through the Nyāsas and the Prāṇapratiṣṭhā-Mantra is uttered one hundred times.

At the end of Pratiṣṭhā ceremony, the fire sacrifice is usually conducted. When Nyāsadāru is transferred to the Pratiṣṭhā-Maṇḍapa, the fire is kindled in the Vedī inside the Maṇḍapa in the prescribed manner with Vedic Mantras. The deity Nṛsiṁha is worshipped again. On the 11th day 1008 Āhutis are dropped with the Vāsudeva Mantra, on the 12th day the same number of Āhutis with the 18-syllabic Gopāla Mantra and on the 13th day the same number with the mono-syllabic Bhuvaneśvarī Mantra as well as with the 6-syllabic Sudarśana Mantra. On the 14th day, Āhutis are offered to the deities Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī, Śiva, Kālī, Vimaḷā and Durgā, etc.

In the night of the 14th, the Nyāsadāru is placed on a small cart and is taken around the main Temple (in its inner prenicts) seven times. Then, the Dāru is cut into four pieces to represent the Brahmapadārtha of the deities. The newly fashioned images are taken around the temple thrice on the next day in the night one by one (in the order: Sudarśana, Balabhadra, Subhadrā and Jagannātha). The change of the life-substance is effected by the Daitās, only that of Jagannātha is accomplished by the Pati Mahāpātra himself. During the transfer of the Brahmapadārtha, the Daitā does not see or feel it, since his eyes blindfolded and the hands are wrapped up to elbows. The work is done in the dead of night and nobody is also allowed to see it.

The Burial of the Images

The old mūrti is considered to be 'dead' after the 'life-substance' is taken out of it. The old wooden images are then carried to Koili Vaikuṇṭha (Kaivalya Vaikuṇṭha) where the images are buried. Koili Vaikuṇṭha serves as the graveyard for the old deities and the Daitās are supposed to be the kinsmen of Lord Jagannātha. They mourn the ritualistic death of the deities. The 'Lepa Saṁskāra' of the Lord is therefore, assigned to them only.[12]

The Final Form of the Wooden Images

The wooden structure of the statues is considered simply to be the 'skeleton' of the images. In the beginning of the dark fortnight of the extra Āṣāḍha, these images are entrusted to the

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care of the temple servants known as Datta Mahāpātra. They apply on them different substances and wrap them up with several cloth stripes.

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* gives a detailed description of the annual repairs on the statues of the deities. The wooden structure is identified with the bones. To represent the marrow inside the bone, perfumed oil is first rubbed on the wooden structure. Stripes of the coloured 'Netra Paṭa' are wrapped around on every limb of the statue which represent of veins and the blood flowing into them. The thick paste of camphor, musk and sandal paste applied on the structure symbolizes the 'flesh' of the images. Strong stripes of cotton cloth are then wrapped up to represent the skin of the statue. The author of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* interprets the starch applied from above to strengthen the cloth pieces with the corporal hair. The *Puruṣottama-Māhātmyam* of the *Skanda-Purāṇa* also makes reference to the annual repair of the statues and mentions the use of Paṭa (cloth), Niryāsa (resin or gum of trees) and Valkala for repairing.[13] However, Valkalas (thin bark of the trees) are not used now-a-days.

The statues achieve their final shape and form after being painted by the Citakaras (Citrakāras or painters) with indigenous colours. The final touch in painting is given by the Brāhmin priests of the temple who paint the pupils of the eyes of the deities. Then, the deities take bath with scented water which is followed by the 'Netrotsava'. This function has purificatory character. The ceremony of Navakalevara comes to an end after the last act of the purification of the new images is performed.

REFERENCES

1. *C.J.R.T.O.*, pp.236-237.
2. *P.M.*, 28.18-24.
3. *Ṛgveda*, I.22.
4. *Vanayāgavidhi*, p.23.
5. *Ibid.* and *Vanayāgavidhira Sūcanā*, p.4.
6. *R.J.A.*, Part II, p.63; *J.M.*, p.148.
7. *P.M.*, 19.33-34.
8. *Ibid.*, 18.39-42.
9. *N.M.*, 14.117-120.
10. Mishra, K.C., *Śrī Jagannātha and Navakalevara*, p.15.
11. *P.M.*, 27.98, 28.52-53.
12. *Ibid.*, 19.33-34.
13. *Ibid.*, 19.22-27.

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CHAPTER - 6
MODE OF WORSHIP

I

GENERAL REMARKS

The worship of the deities in the temple of Lord Jagannātha comprises an extensive and intricate ritual. A number of works, especially *Gopālārcanavidhiḥ* ascribed to Gajapati Puruṣottamadeva (1466-1497 A.D.), *Nīlādrināthapūjāvidhiḥ* (a prose version of the former) by Coḍagaṅgadeva, *Gopālārcanapaddhati* of Vāsudeva and other texts like *Durgotsavacandrikā, Kramadīpikā, Sāradātilaka* and Gautamīya Tantram describe the pūjā ceremony of Lord Jagannātha. But, the modes of worship prescribed in the *Sthaḷa-Purāṇa*, the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* composed after the *Puruṣottama-Māhātmyam* of the *Skanda-Purāṇa* is of special attraction. This purāṇa, as has already been traced out, dates back to the last part of 14th century A.D. This is a primary work which supplies authentic and detail information regarding the pūjā ceremony and the rituals performed in the temple of Lord Jagannātha with the technical terms meticulously explained. This standard work on pūjā of Jagannātha even goes back to the date of *Gopālārcanavidhiḥ* of Puruṣottamadeva. The Pūjāpaṇḍās of Jagannātha temple, Puri, follow the modes of worship prescribed in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* along with the other works stated above. Out of 91 chapters of the purāṇa, the chapters beginning from 38 to 91 include the modes in which the deities Jagannātha, Balabhadra, Subhadrā and Sudarśana are worshipped. It is very difficult to go through such a vast description of the pūjā ceremony comprising 53 chapters (Adhyāyas) and hence people follow the works in its short form. The underlined description of the pūjā ceremony as taking place in the Jagannātha temple of Puri is completely based on the modes laid down in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* and hence is a unique attempt to present the rites performed during the worship.

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* mentions a seven-fold form (Saptadhā Mūrti)[1] of Lord Jagannātha. This signifies the worship of seven deities on the 'Ratnavedī'. Besides the three major wooden images of Jagannātha (Kṛṣṇa), Balabhadra and Subhadrā, the other deities are Sudarśana, Lakṣmī, Viśvadhātrī (Sarasvatī) and Nīlamādhava. Lord Jagannātha, the supreme spirit has two states of form, Prakṛti and Vikṛti. He is only worshipped in His Prakṛti form in which he pervades the universe.[2] As mentioned by the *Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa*, the worships are of two kinds, Antarvedī and Bahirvedī.[3] The worship of God durig the performance of sacrifices is called the Antarvedī.[4] The worship takes three modes : Mānasī Pūjā (mental), Homa Pūjā and Bera Pūjā (image worship). The modes of worship are partly Vedic, partly tāntric and partly purāṇic in nature. The Vedic part consists of the veneration paid to the symbol praṇava – the symbol of Brahma. The tāntric tradition evolved various nyāsas, yantras, kriyās (mudrās) and Vījamantras. The yogic-tāntric system of impaling the satcakras (satcakrabheda) of the body is also an important part in the mode of worship.

As Lord Jagannātha was originally worshipped by the Śabaras in the form of Nīlamādhava, His worship is sometimes connected with the totem worship of the Śabaras. According to some

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scholars, this worship of Lord Jagannātha hails from the Śabara-worship. Lord Jagannātha is considered as Dāru Brahma since he appeared in the sea in the form of a Dāru from which the wooden images of four deities are carved. In due course, the Dāru-worship has been transformed into the Brahman worship. This concept of Dāru Brahma forwards praṇava-worship. Therefore, Brahman and praṇava are identified as one. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* conceives the idea of Lord Puruṣottama as 'praṇava rūpī' and explains it in great detail.[5] Praṇava has three relatively complete mātrās and one half mātrā, which is 'Nāda Vindu' and it is attached to Jagannātha. He is, therefore, addressed as 'Nāda Vindu Samanvita'. 'Akāra' is the first mātrā which is on the petals; 'U kāra' is the second mātrā which is in the interior side; and 'Ma Kāra' is the third mātrā and is situated at the root. Ardha mātrā is the Karṇa itself. The Ardha mātrā is called Subhadrā.

Three Pūjā Paṇḍās (or Arcakas) usually worship the deities Jagannātha, Balabhadra, Subhadrā, Sudarśana, Lakṣmī, Viśvadhātrī and Nīlamādhava simultaneously. Sudarśana, Lakṣmī, Viśvadhātrī and Nīlamādhava are worshipped along with the main deity Lord Jagannātha. One Pūjā Paṇḍā performs the worship of these deities. Two more Pūjā Paṇḍās are required to perform the pūjā of Balabhadra and Subhadrā. Three Pūjā Paṇḍās sit at a time on the Ratnavedī to the right of the images facing north (the deities face the east) and conduct their worship. However, in the winter season, the Paṇḍās sit on the ground below the Ratnavedī since no place is available for them on the Ratnavedī due to the dressing of the deities with the woolen clothes.

Everyday in the morning, a fourth Pūjā Paṇḍā or Arcaka performs the pūjā of the Sun-god in his temple which is situated in the south-east corner of the inner compound of the temple complex. He also performs the pūjā of the Dvārapāḷas (door-attendants), viz., Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Navagrahas, Prajāpati, etc., carved on the outer walls at the entrance of the temple. The fire-sacrifice (homa) in the temple kitchen is also performed by him. After the completion of the Homa ritual in the temple kitchen, the task of cooking begins.

Personal Purification of the Worshippers

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* prescribes a rigorous programme of personal purification for the worshippers right from they leave the bed. The Arcakas (Pūjā Paṇḍās) are required to utter various prayers and chant hymns in the glory of the Lord when they get up in the early morning.[6] After Viṣṇu-dhyāna, they pray to the goddess 'Earth' (Dharaṇīdevī).[7] Keeping the Yajñopavīta on the right ear and covering their heads with clothes, they go to a lonely place in the Naiṛta-corner to perform the Śaucakriyā-vidhi. Then, they wash their feet and change the clothes. Reciting praṇava[8] they purify the body by sprinkling water to it. The purāṇa mentions that the worshippers take their bath after brushing their teeth with either of the sticks of Vaṭa, Khadira, Kadamva, Karañja, Tintiḍī, Veṇu, Nimva, Āmva, Dumvara, Apamārga and Vilva, etc. The Arcaka takes a dip into the water by holding Kuśa-plants in his hands. He performs Varuṇa-Snāna-Vidhi while bathing, he thinks the water to be of Ganges.[9] After meditating upon the Ṛṣi and the Gāyatrī metres (chandas)[10] and remembering the God Varuṇa, the worshipper rushes into the water to take his bath. Our purāṇa prescribes three dips for

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the Arcaka.[11] The dips are taken by chanting Viṣṇu-Mantra. He then holds his hands in the form of Kumbha-Mudrā over his head, sprinkles water uttering the Mūlamantra[12] thrice upon himself and standing still for a while, mutters the mantra for ten times and so on.

After finishing the bath, the worshipper puts on fresh garments, draws tiḷakas on the different parts of his body. Tiḷaka drawn on the fore-head is stick-like, that on the chest takes the shape of a lotus-leaf and those drawn on the arms look like the leaves of a bamboo-tree. He then make it sacred by reciting Mūrti-Pañjara-Nyāsa.[13] The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* categorically mentions that the worshipper draws the tiḷaka-prints of Śaṁkha (conch), Padma (lotus) and Cakra (wheel) on his right hand; and the left hand carries the sketches of Cakra, Gadā and Śaṁkha.[14] Thereafter, he performs the Vedic as well as the tāntric Sandhyās,[15] Vaiṣṇava-Ācamana (oblation), Prāṇāyāma (controlling of breaths). He mutters the Vedic Gāyatrī-Mantra.[16] Our purāṇa mentions Nṛsiṁha-Gāyatrī, Gopāla-Gāyatrī and ŚrīKṛṣṇa-Gāyatrī which are recited by the Pūjā Paṇḍā during his personal purification.[17] After the completion of the Trikāla-Sandhyā-dhyāna, the Arcaka also utters mantras as per his ability. Finally, he offers Arghya to the Sun-god by chanting *Hrīṁ, Haṁ*,[18] etc. This is then followed by Tarpaṇa-vidhi.

In the beginning of Tarpaṇa, the Sun-god is welcomed by the Kuśa-plant and then the other rites are performed.[19] The deities for whom Tarpaṇa is offered are Nārada, Viṣṇu, Uddhava, Dāruka, Viśvakesana, Vainateya and many other well-named gods and goddesses. Reciting the Mūlamantra, the Tarpaṇa is offered to ŚrīKṛṣṇa.[20] Uttering '*Oṁ, Haṁ Saḥ Sūryyāyasvāhā*', Arghya is given.[21] The goddess is welcomed to the orbit of the Sun and prayers are offered by showing Saṁhāra Mudrā.[22] At the end of Tarpaṇa, the Arcaka observes silence. Thereafter, Vaiṣṇavācamana-rites[23] are performed. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* strictly restricts the performance of the other Pūjā-karma and Homa rituals without Vaiṣṇavācamana-vidhi.[24]

Daily Worship

The pūjā takes place five times a day. The common expression for pūjā in the temple terminology is 'dhūpa' meaning originally 'incense'. The doors of the sanctum are closed during pūjā. Nobody is allowed to enter into the sanctum to watch the pūjā ceremony.

Everyday early in the morning, the drums are sounded first. This is called the Dunduvi Vādya. Then the Bhitara chu Mahāpātra along with Pāliā Mekāpa, Pratihāri, Akhaṇḍa-Mekāpa and Muduli opens Jaya Vijaya door after examining the seal of it. He then, with the help of a lamp inspects the sanctity of the place upto the Garbhagṛha and opens the door of the same. All of them proceed to the Ratna Siṁhāsana uttering 'Maṇimā' 'Maṇimā' (Oh Lord, Oh Lord) and keeps the lamp burning at both the sides. The things like the tender cocoanut, perfumed water, betel nut, etc., offered to the deities in the previous night are removed and restored in the store-house. Then, recite the stotras.

The next item followed in the Jagannātha temple is Maṅgaḷārātrika, i.e., showing to the deity twenty-one lamps fed with ghee and Pistakārati. Auspicious hymns are recited along with the sound of Maṅgaḷa Vādya. The deities are awakened. Taḍapas (a kind of dress) are supplied.

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Then, the old clothes are removed and new clothings are given. Thereafter, the deities take up the 'Nityakarmas' such as brushing the teeth, cleaning the tongue and mouth, etc.

Before the three worshippers of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā reach the temple, the Abhiṣeka or the morning-bath of the deities is completed. The various rites concerning the morning-bath (Prātaḥ Snāna Vidhi) are described in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* in its fortieth chapter. The bath is not performed on the painted wooden images but on their reflections[25] in bronze mirrors placed in front of them on the ground. After bath, the deities are dressed with new clothes and decked with ornaments and garlands. All these ritualistic performances are known as Avakāsa. Then, the public had had a close darśana of the deities. This is called Sāhāṇā meta, i.e., 'general gathering' (sādhāraṇa-darśana). The Paśupālakas (the temple servants) decorate the deities with the appropriate robe of the day. The deities are smeared with sandal paste and adorned with flowers.

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* mentions that the Homa ritual in the kitchen is instituted after the bath of the deities. The kitchen is cleaned and Homa is performed according to the Vaiṣṇava rites.[26] Twelve Āhutis[27] are offered to the sacred fire of Homa in the honour of Viṣṇu's life. The first Āhuti is given thinking that the god is conceived in the womb and this is followed by the other Āhutis for the Jātakarma (birth ceremony), Upanayana (thread ceremony) and Vivāha (marriage ceremony) of the deity.

The forty-first chapter of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* includes the mantras recited during the Homa-ritual and also describes the rules for giving Pūrṇāhuti. The first mantra uttered is the 'Bhurityasya-Mantra' which goes in the honour of Prajāpati.[28] Then, the Arcaka recites the 'Gāyatrī Chanda'.[29] He lits the holy fire with the utterance of Praṇava and offers the first stream of ghee with the Bhūsavda 'Svāhā'.[30] The other mantras and chandas followed in order are Bhuva-Mantra, Uṣṇik-Chanda, Svarityasya-Mantra, Triṣṇubha-Chanda, etc. Āhuti is offered thrice along with the recitation of the names of the Ṛṣis, and the deities.[31] Among the deities, our purāṇa mentions the names of Surya, Agni and Varuṇa; and among the Ṛṣis, it speaks of Prajāpati and Vāmadeva. Finally, Pūrṇāhuti is performed by placing a cocoanut-fruit on the wood-materials in the Homa-pit. The Muni Bhardvāja is remembered by uttering Mūrddhāna-Mantra.[32] Pūrṇāhuti is offered in the honour of all the deities in the Aiśānya-corner along with the recitation of Anuṣṭubha-Chanda.[33] After giving Pūrṇāhuti, the holy fire of Homa is thought of as Viṣṇu and the rites are performed accordingly.[34] At last, the fire is extinguished and calmness is restored by giving gifts to the Brāhmins.[35]

The purāṇa, in its forty-two chapter includes different features and Mudrās of Homa. It describes, Brahmaviṣṭarayorlakṣaṇaṁ, Sruvasrucorlakṣaṇaṁ, Samillakṣaṇaṁ, Pavitralakṣaṇaṁ, Ājyasthāḷīlakṣaṇaṁ, Carusthāḷīlakṣaṇaṁ and Homa-Mudrās. We find also the descriptions of Vaṭu-Mantra here in this chapter. Three Mudrās such as Mṛgī, Haṁsi and Mūkarī are exhibited by the Brāhmin during the performance of Homa.[36]

The cooking in the kitchen of Lord Jagannātha starts after Homa is completed. Then, the worship of the Sun-god and the Dvārapāḷas is performed. The goddess Lakṣmī and the god Gaṇeśa are prayed at the beginning of the task of cookng. Lakṣmī is prayed for better taste of the cooked-items and Gaṇeśa is prayed for smooth cooking. The purāṇa mentions the

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wood of Paḷāśa, Aśvastha, Śamī, Khadira, Śāḷa, Sāraṅga, etc., for the fuel in the oven.[37] Our purāṇa describes Sūryya-Mantra-Nyāsa, Sūryyatrikāla-dhyāna and Sūryya-Mudrā which are exhibited by the pūjaka in the kitchen. The Brāhmin performs six different types of Nyāsas concerned with the limbs.[38] Karanyāsa[39] is one among them. It is exhibited by the fingers of the hands. Five Nyāsas in order are performed for the sake of Āditya, Ravi, Bhānu, Bhāskara and Sūryya.[40] Morning, noon and evening dhyānas are exercised by the Arcaka in the honour of the Sun-god. These are called Trikāla-dhyānas. The deity Lord Jagannātha is worshipped in the form of Sun-god who spreads happiness over three Lokas (Svarga Loka, Martya Loka and Pātāla Loka).[41] After completing Trikāla-dhyāna, the pūjaka exhibits Mudrās of seven different kinds. These Mudrās are Vyoma Mudrā, Padma Mudrā, Kamvu Mudrā, Goviṣanā, Tāpinī and Dhenu Mudrā.[42]

The next item mentioned in the purāṇa is the selection of Arghya Pātra. The Arghya Pātra should be made of precious metals like gold, silver, brass or copper. But, the use of conch as the Arghya Pātra is the best selection.[43] The Arcaka offers Sūryyārghya[44] by that conch. The Arghya Pātra is cleaned with the recitation of Sastra-Mantra and is then filled with water by Mūlamantra.[45] The worshipper lits up the dhūpa or dīpa in front of the deity according to Vaiṣṇava rites.[46] Our purāṇa mentions that the worship of the Sun-god and the offering of the Arghya to the deity is conducted in the Agni-corner of the Jagannātha temple.

Bāla Bhoga

The breakfast of the deities is called Gopāla Vallabha or Bāla Bhoga. It contains edible offerings such as Suāmaṇḍā, Pāpuḍi, Butter, Curd, fried Paddy (khai), Korā (prepared with cocoanut), Cocoanut Pāceḍi, Plantains, other ripe seasonal fruits, green cocoanut, other kinds of cold Bhogas (śītala bhoga) and betel. Generally, these Bhogas are offered between 7.30 A.M. and 8.00 A.M., at the Anavasara Piṇḍi. After this Bāla Bhoga, the temple is cleaned from the Garbhagṛha upto the Candana Argaḷi. Then, a curtain (known as Terā) is put on the Candana Argaḷi to prevent others from seeing the deities. Now, starts the morning worship called the Śakāḷadhūpa or the first dhūpa.

Śakāḷadhūpa

It consists of offerings to the deities the sixteen Upacāras (items of offerings) called Ṣoḍasopacāra-pūjā. The time pūjā is performed in five places indicated by five ālpanās. The priest who performs the pūjā to Jagannātha also perform pūjā to Lakṣmī, Viśvadhātrī (Bhūdevī) and Sudarśana. Other two priests worship Balabhadra and Subhadrā respectively. Then the twenty-course Bhogas are offered to the deities. Some new features are to be seen in this Bhoga. They are, offerings of umbrella, fanning with cāmara (fly-whisk), dance and music by Devadāsīs accompanied by instṛumental music. This Bhoga is offered inside the Garbhagṛha before the Ratnavedī. Next, the dresses of the deities are changed. This ritual is called Mailamlāgi. The item that follows just after this is called Catrabhoga or Maṇḍapabhoga or Bhāndhabhoga offered at the Bhogamaṇḍapa behind the Garuḍa pillar. The offering of the five items called the Pañcopacāra - sandal paste, flowers, dhūpa, lamp, Naivedya (eatables),

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etc., are made during this type of worship. This Bhoga is meant for the public and the Maṭhas alike.

Madhyāhnadhūpa

This is the 2nd dhūpa offered to the deities. It consists of the mid-day meal of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā. Generally, fifty-six kinds of Bhogas are included in Madhyāhna Bhoga. But, very often the number of items of Bhogas exceeds hundred. The noon-worship starts with the change of dresses of the deities. Then, three palanquins are brought and kept before the images. By the side of the palanquins, betel, green cocoanut and perfumed water are also kept. After this the Karpura-Ārati is performed. This is the indication of the deities going to take rest after mid-day meal. The, the doors are sealed.

Sandhyādhūpa

In the evening just as in the early morning Bhitara chu Mahāpātra inspects the seal of the door and opens it. This is followed by the Sandhyā-Ārati. After Ārati, the dresses of the deities are changed and they are worshipped according to Ṣoḍasopacāra pūjā. During this pūjā, Ārati is performed four times. After the Sandhyādhūpa the deities are dressed in silken garments and sandal paste is applied to them. This is called Candanalāgi. Then the recitation of the *Gītagovinda* accompanied with the melody of the Vīṇā and other musical instruments is done. Then starts the Baḍasiṁhāraveśa, gorgeously luxuriant dress. Various Bhogas are also offered to the deities. During this ritualistic performance the deities are decorated with flower crests, Candrikā, etc., and especially the Tulasī garland is offered to them. Like other previous worships various Bhogas are offered to god Jagannātha during this time. This Baḍasiṁhāraveśa is mainly done with flowers. Just like the afternoon rituals three palanquins are brought and green-cocoanut, perfumed water, etc., are placed near them. To prevent mosquitoes dhūpas are offered; after Puṣpāḷaka, Puṣpāñjaḷi is offered; the Utsava image of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa (Ardhanārīśvara) is put on the palanquin and offered green-cocoanut, betel nut, etc. Then the Utsava-bera is placed on a Dambaru Āsana near the Jaya Vijaya dvāra. Next Karpurārati is offered along with recitation of the *Gītagovinda* accompanied with dance by the Devadāsīs. Another feature of the Sandhyādhūpa is that the king of Puri or one of his representatives presents himself with golden stick in hand, and the Praharāja (the chief priest of the Rājā) chants the *Veda* Mantras. Then, the Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa image is brought near the store. At night, the ceremony consists of the following : putting out the lamp (Akhaṇḍa dīpa), uttering of 'Maṇimā' 'Maṇimā' by Pāliā Pratihara, closing of doors, sealing the lock of the door with mud along with the seal of Madanamohana by Tera chu Mahāpātra. This shows that the gods go to bed after this.

The nature of the Deities and the Mantras for their Worship

Lord Jagannātha is considered as Kṛṣṇa in various aspects. He is worshipped in his 'Gopījanavallabha' (the beloved of the cow-maids) aspect. Two different syllabled Mantras are

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used to worship the Lord. He is worshipped according to Daśākṣari (ten syllabled) and Aṣṭādaśākṣari (eighteen syllabled) Mantras.[47] The ten-syllabic Mantra is '*Gopījanavallabhāya svāhā*' and the eighteen-syllabic mantra is *Klīṁ Kṛṣṇāya Govindāya Gopījanavallabhāya svāhā.*

The morning meditation conceives him as he was in his infancy (Bālagopāla), his abode is at Gopa - he is two armed. During mid-day (Madhyāhna) he is meditated as a youth god Kṛṣṇa seated under Kalpa Vṛkṣa (wish-giving tree). His abode is at Vṛndāvana, playing on flute and surrounded by Gopas, Gopīs and cows. He is also two armed. In the evening (Sandhyā) he conceived as seated in the garden of Dvārakā inside the Maṇḍapa. He is four-armed and his abode is Dvārakā. At night, the god is meditated as one described in the *Bhāgavata*-Purāṇa during the famous Rāsakrīḍā. He is four-armed.

Balabhadra is worshipped as Vāsudeva (the son of Vasudeva) with the twelve-syllabic[48] Vāsudeva-Mantra (*Oṁ namo Bhagavate Vāsudevāya*). He is worshipped with the hymns of Puruṣa-Sūkta since he is treated as Virāṭa.[49] It may be noted here that the Vāsudeva-Mantra is, in fact, meant for the worship of Bhagavata-Vāsudeva. Vāsudeva is a word which signifies the highest personal god of the Bhagavatas. The pūjā rites of Balabhadra, as performed in the Jagannātha temple, contain in themselves some elements of the worship of Śiva also. Because Balabhadra is Śaṁkarṣaṇa. He is Śiva. The *Pāñcarātra Āgama* identifies Śaṁkarṣaṇa with Śiva. According to the *Vyūha* theory of the *Pāñcarātra* philosophy the one, Transcendent and the Highest God, termed Vāsudeva, manifests itself in three lower forms which are known as Śaṁkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha of these Śaṁkarṣaṇa is endowed with the characteristics of jñāna and bala, Pradyumna with those of Aiśvarya and Vīrya and Aniruddha with Śakti and Tejas. *Sanatkumār-Saṁhitā* identifies Vāsudeva with Viṣṇu, Śaṁkarṣaṇa with Śiva, Pradyumna with Brahmā and Aniruddha with 'Puruṣottama'.[50]

Subhadrā is worshipped as the goddess Bhuvaneśvarī with her monosyllabic (Ekākṣara)[51] Mantra 'Hrīṁ'. The Mantra is recited as '*Oṁ Hrīṁ Bhuvaneśvaryai Namaḥ*'. To establish the praṇava worship and to make the deities common for all sects, the worship has been prescribed according to the Hari-Hara cult. She is also worshipped in the Śrī and Devī Sūktas. The goddess Vimalā who plays an important role in the Jagannātha temple is, incidentally, also worshipped as Bhuvaneśvarī, and with the same Mantra.

Sudarśana has a special mantra for himself in which he is referred to as a 'thousand spoked one' (sahasrāra). The pūjā represents the violent aspect of the worship of Viṣṇu and contains many elements of the worship of Narasiṁha. He is worshipped in Saptākṣara or seven-syllabled Mantra. His Mantra is '*Oṁ Sahasrārahrung Phaṭ*'.

Lakṣmī is the only consort of Viṣṇu in the North Indian Vaiṣṇava theology. In the temple of Lord Jagannātha, she is worshipped with her monosyllabic Mantra '*Śrīṁ*'. Some sections among the Vaiṣṇavas, however, take the goddess Sarasvatī (the goddess of learning) as a wife of Viṣṇu and worship her as Vasudhā or Dharitrī, the earth. We find two separate temples for 'Sarasvatī' and 'Lakṣmī' behind the main temple of Jagannātha in the north-west part of the inner compound.

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II

TECHNICAL PROCEDURES OF PŪJĀ

1. The Ritual Purification

(a) Pīṭhaśuddhi

The articles and the utensils used in pūjā are first arranged and put at their proper places. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* mentions that the process of purification starts with the purification of the seat of the worshipper (Pīṭhaśuddhi)[52] and the part of the earth where he is sitting. The worshipper offers pūjā to Kūrma and Pṛthivī.[53] He first bows to the Supporting Force (ādhāraśakti) of the universe and requests the Earth to grant him place to sit on, to support him and to purify his seat.

He then pays reverence to the five generations of his preceptors to his left, Gaṇeśa to his right, Durgā in his front, Kṣetrapāḷa in his rear[54] and seeks their help and protection.

He then bows down his head before Sudarśana and performs the task of 'Digvandhana'.[55] He drives away the 'evil spirits' and demonic beings which might be present in the sanctum[56] and creates, thereafter, a protective cage around himself with fire and water so that he remains undisturbed while performing the pūjā.

(b) Bhūtaśuddhi

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* in its 45th and 48th chapters describes the procedures of Bhūtaśuddhi. The worshipper first meditates upon his heart in the form of an eight-petalled lotus which has bliss for its roots (*ānandakandasambhavam*) and knowledge for its stalk (jñānanalam),[57] etc. He takes the (qualified) individual soul (*jīvātman*) resting on the pericarp of this lotus and shining like the flame of a lamp, through the Suṣumṇā channel to the thousand petalled lotus in the head and unites it with the Highest Soul (*paramātman*) or God present there uttering the Mantra '*haṁsaḥ*' (=*ahaṁsaḥ/so'ham*).[58]

While the *Jīvātman* thus rests with *Paramātman*, he dissolves the different elements of his body into their causes. He merges first the Earth into Water, the Water into the Fire, the Fire into the Wind, the Wind into the Space and the Space into the Tāmasika form of Ahaṁkāra. The organs of sense as well as action together with their objects (viṣaya) are merged into the Rājasika form of Ahaṁkāra and the antaḥkaraṇa or manas, buddhi, ahaṁkāra and citta together with their presiding deities (Candra, Bṛhaspati, Rudra and Vāsudeva) into the sāttvika for– of Ahaṁkāra. The Ahaṁkāra in its entirety is then merged into Mahat and Mahat into Prakṛti - all following the *Sāṁkhya* system of creation in reverse manner. Finally, the worshipper even merges Prakṛti into *Paramātman* who has His seat in the thousand petalled lotus of the head. The body and the soul of the worshipper now rest with *Paramātman* in their substance. What remains is the pāpapuruṣa - the accumulated sins conceived as a tiny, black human figure - which originally had its seat in the lower left part of the belly of the worshipper. With the Vījamantra of wind (*yaṁ*) the worshipper dries him up and with that of Fire (*raṁ*) he burns him down to ashes. He then exhales his ashes through his nostrils.

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The worshipper now meditates upon the Vījamantra of water (*vaṁ*) resting in the middle of the crescent situated in the head and with the help of this Mantra as well as praṇava (*oṁ*) he lets a shower of ambrosia consisting of the sounds of speech or Mātṛkās (= mothers, so called because they are believed to generate the whole universe in the Śākta philosophy) fall down on the elements of his body which exist in the germinal state (Vījabhāvena). With this rain all the elements are purified. He now meditates upon the Vījamantra of Earth (*laṁ*) and creates a Golden Egg. With the help of praṇava used as a 'sword', so to say, he splits this Egg horizontally into two pieces.[59] The upper portion of this Egg is conceived as the sky and the lower half the earth.[60] On this 'earth' he now brings down all the elements of his body which have been resting with Paramātman and re-creates his body in the order in which the creation of the universe proceeds (according to the theory of *Sāṁkhya*), viz., *Paramātman* -› *Mūlaprakṛti* -› *Mahat* -› *Ahaṁkāra* -› Space and so forth. When the 24 elements (tattvas) have been resorted to their proper places, he also brings down his *Jīvātman* with the help of Kuṇḍalinī and places it in the lotus of his heart and thereafter the Kuṇḍalinī in its proper place (= mūlādhāra cakra).

He now meditates upon his *Jīvātman* as Viṣṇu Himself with his face like a full bloomed lotus, having a golden bodily hue, wearing bright yellow garments and crown and holding a conch and a discus, etc. He tries to realise a complete identity with this form of Viṣṇu in the '*so'ham asmi*' manner (He I am).[61]

(c) Prāṇapratiṣṭhā

The next rite performed by the worshipper is that of Prāṇapratiṣṭhā[62] which aims at endowing this divine body of the worshipper with the vital breaths (prāṇas), the sense organs (jñānendriyas) and blood, flesh, strength, etc. The Prāṇapratiṣṭhā is performed with the help of a Mantra, the different letters of which are associated with the different substances in the body. Our purāṇa mentions that the worshipper thinks the gods Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra and the Ṛṣis[63] of eminence. He recites the Chandas of those Ṛṣis as well as the Chandas of *Ṛg, Yajuḥ* and *Sāma Vedas*.[64] He then exhibits Nyāysas with his fingers and recites 'Ca-Varga' associated with 'Sa Vindu', 'Ṭa-Varga' with 'U-Kāra', 'Oṁ-Kāra' with 'Ta-Varga' and 'Sa-Vindu' with 'E-Kāra'. Anāmikā Nyāsa is performed with the recitation of Mantras like 'Oṁ-Kāra' with 'Pa-Varga'. Our purāṇa says that the worshipper makes Ṣaḍaṅganyāsa.[65] The purāṇa includes 'Ya-Kāra', 'Ra-Kāra', 'Ma-Kāra' and *Raṁ, Laṁ, Vaṁ, Śaṁ, Ṣaṁ, Saṁ, Haṁ, Kṣaṁ*,[66] etc. The pūjaka meditates with Nyāsas and performs Prāṇamudrā.[67]

Taking Kuśa grass and flowers in his hand and showing the Prāṇamudrā, the worshipper touches his head with the right hand and utters the Mantra for Prāṇapratiṣṭhā which is followed by the prayer; "Let my prāṇas (residing in the old body) be now here (in this new body); let my Vāc, Manas, Śrotra, etc., come and live here comfortably (*sukham*) and for long (*ciram*)."[68]

(d) Parāśakti Smaraṇa

After performing the rituals of Prāṇapratiṣṭhā, the worshipper meditates upon the Parāśakti[69] or Prāṇaśakti (the Vital Energy) who is conceived as a goddess of moon-light complexion. She has three eyes. She is sitting on a lotus. She is dressed with beautiful clothes.

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The pūjaka recites praṇava Mantra and Gāyatrī Chanda of the goddess. Then, he takes the task of Prāṇāyāma.

(e) Prāṇāyāma

Further purification of the body of the worshipper is attained by the performance of Prāṇāyāma[70] (regulation of breaths). He meditates upon Viṣṇu in his heart, Śiva in his forehead and Brahman in his navel region while doing pūraka (filling of breath), kumbhaka (holding of breath) and recaka (emitting of breath)[71] respectively. It is believed that the holding of breath (= wind) in the body gives rise to Fire which in turns generates water and thus the body is purified with these three elements.

(f) Praṇava Nyāsa

It is interesting that in the worship of three deities the Praṇava Nyāsa[72] and Mantra are invariably used. Our purāṇa describes that the worshipper performs Praṇava Nyāsa after regulation of breaths. The Nyāsa Mantra of Praṇava includes A, U and Ma Kāras[73] which stand for Balabhadra, Subhadrā and Jagannātha respectively. Our purāṇa identifies the different colours of the deities in accordance with the three syllables A,U, Ma and says that Ma Kāra is associated with the black colour (Kṛṣṇa Varṇa).

(g) Mātṛkā Nyāsa

The fifty letters of the (Sanskrit) alphabet endowed with anusvāra or vindu (*Kaṁ, Khaṁ,* etc.) are known as Mātṛkās or Mothers in Tāntrism since they as the sound (nāda) or the speech (vāc) are believed to be the primeval source of the world. The placement of the Mātṛkās on the different parts of the body from one of the most important rites of the Tāntric form of pūjā.

The placement of the Mātṛkās is two-fold. Once they are placed internally on the six Cakras of the body which are situated inside the human body along the Suṣumṇā (spinal cord) and once externally on the different parts of the body. The Cakras inside the body are conceived as lotuses with different number of petals (the Mūlādhāra, for example, consists of four, the Svādhiṣṭhāna the six, the Maṇipūra ten petals).[74] The letters of the Mātṛkā placed on these Cakras correspond to the number of the petals in these lotuses. The total number of the petals is, therefore, the same as that of the letters of the Mātṛkās (fifty). The placement of the letters of the Mātṛkā externally starts with a dhyāna (meditational verse) of Bhāratī,[75] the goddess of speech, and the Nyāsa is carried out on the different points of the body either with the fingers in various combinations or by touching these points with a flower held between the fingers.[76]

(h) Devatā Nyāsa

The process of ritual purification upto Mātṛkā Nyāsa is common to all forms of worship. After exhibiting all types of Mātṛkā Nyāsas, the worshipper places the various aspects or forms of his deity together with the Śaktis of these aspects on the different parts of his body in order to achieve a closer affinity with the deity.

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* describes various types of Devatā Nyāsas in its 57th and 58th chapters. The Devatā Nyāsas vary according to the deity worshipped. Keśavādi Nyāsa[77] is

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meant for the worship of Lord Jagannātha, Śrī-kaṇṭhādi Nyāsa[78] is meant for the worship of Balabhadra whereas Subhadrā is worshipped in Kalā Nyāsa.[79] The pūjā Paṇḍās of the deities carry out the Devatā Nyāsas[80] accordingly. Each Nyāsa contains fifty aspects of the deity which, associated with the letters of Mātṛkā, are placed at those very points in the body where the Mātṛkās have been placed. The Keśavādi Nyāsa used in the worship of Jagannātha derives its name from the fact that it starts with the placement of the Keśava aspect of Viṣṇu together with his Śakti Kīrti on the head of the worshipper conjoined with the Mātṛkā letter *aṁ* Nārāyaṇa. With his Śakti, it is then placed on the face to the accompaniment of the letter *āṁ*, etc., and so on. It may be noted here that whereas the Keśavādi and the Śrīkaṇṭhādi Nyāsas invariably mention one male and one female (Śakti) aspect of the deity, the Kalā Nyāsa (used in the worship of the goddesses) does not mention any male partner of the different aspects of the goddess. In other words, whereas the Śakti exist independently and can do without their Śaktimats, the Śaktimats can not do so. Our purāṇa mentions *Oṁ, Klīṁ, Śrīṁ* and *Hrīṁ* Vījamantras[81] used for the worship of the deities. *Oṁ*-Kāra represents Sudarśanadeva, *Klīṁ*-vīja is the image of Jagannātha, *Śrīṁ*-vīja is conceived as Balabhadra and *Hrīṁ*-vīja is the goddess Subhadrā. The Mātṛkā Nyāsas are associated with the Śakti-vījas and Gāyatrī Chanda.[82]

The Keśavādi Nyāsas are used in the worship of all the forms of Viṣṇu, etc. They are, however, preceded by the dhyānas of that specific form or aspect of the deity. The worshipper carries out the dhyānas in order to worship the deity.

(i) Tattva Nyāsa

The worshipper, further, purifies his body by Tattva Nyāsa and gives it a qualified character. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* explains Tattva Nyāsas in its 59th chapter (Adhyāyas) and says that the body of the devotee attains all the characters of the 'Brahma'[83] through twenty-four Tattvas of the *Sāṁkhya* philosophy which go into the making of the mundane world. This world comprises the five basic elements (space, etc.), the organs of sense, the organs of action, the objects of the organs of sense (śabda, etc.), the mind (mānas), ego (ahaṁkāra), intellect (buddhi), Prāṇa and Jīva (= puruṣa). Such a puruṣa is combined with the four pāñcarātric emanations of the 'Highest Puruṣa'. In this context, our purāṇa refers to Vāsudeva, Śaṁkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, Aniruddha and Nārāyaṇa.[84] Besides, a few others like Nṛsiṁha are placed on the different parts of the body. In this way, the Tattva Nyāsa is performed by the devotee who, then, acquires a completely qualified character of his body.

(j) Bhāvanā Catuṣṭaya

In order to emerge the deity in his heart, the worshipper considers his own body as a Pīṭha[84] (seat) or a Yantra for the deity and contemplates upon the different limbs of his body as the different parts of this Yantra. In the centre of this Yantra, identical with the heart of the worshipper, he meditates upon praṇava (oṁ),[85] the source of all Mantras, as a point of light. Out of praṇava emanates a glow (tejas)[86] identical with the Mūlamantra[87] of the deity concerned. Through his prāṇa, the worshipper takes out this glow on his finger tips, places it on the different parts of his hands and with the help of Vyāpinī Mudrā[88] symbolically expressing the application of something on the body from outside, he distributes this Mantra-tejas on his body three times.

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(k) Ṛṣyādi Nyāsa and Pañcāṅga Nyāsa

By means of meditation, the pūjaka receives the specific character of the deity and proceeds to worship his Iṣṭadevatā who, in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, is considered as ŚrīKṛṣṇa.[89] The worshipper performs respective Ṛṣyādi Nyāsas for the Niṣkāmajana and for the Sakāmajana.[90] Viṣṇu is realised in this way in the Cakra where the pūjaka performs Pañcāṅga Nyāsa.[91] Our purāṇa describes the Vījas[92] of those Nyāsas which the worshipper conjoins with one another during worship.

(l) Dhyānas of Morning, Afternoon, Evening and Night Worships

To invoke the deity, the worshipper first meditates upon her. For Jagannātha-Kṛṣṇa there are four different dhyānas depending upon the time of worship. In the morning, he is meditated upon as a child playing in the courtyard of Nanda with a lump of butter in his hand. Our purāṇa, in its chapter 63, gives a beautiful description of the Kṛṣṇa who is blue-coloured and who appears in the Braja-Vihāra.[93] In the after-noon, the worshipper practises Vṛndāvana-dhyāna. Here, the deity Lord Jagannātha is considered as sitting on a lotus with white petals under the Kalpavṛkṣa in his divine Vṛndāvana and he is surrounded with cowherds and cowmaids, etc. The purāṇa mentions Viṣṇu-dhyānas of Śitagiri and Dvāravatī[94] which the pūjaka exercises in the evening worship. The deity is considered as sitting on a dear skin placed on a Pīṭha in a garden of Dvārakā city and teaching the mysteries of philosophy to Nārada and others. Finally, in the night the worshipper exercises Rāsamaṇḍala-dhyāna. Here, in this dhyāna, the deity is considered as dancing and sporting with the cowmaids in the garden on the bank of the Yamunā.[95]

(m) Daśākṣaramantra Nyāsa and Vibhūtipañjara Nyāsa

After meditating upon his Iṣṭadevatās (Kṛṣṇa, Śaṁkarṣaṇa-Śiva, Bhuvaneśvarī) with the help of Dhyāna Mantras, the worshipper charges the whole of his body with the energy of the Mantra by placing the syllables of the Mantra conjoined with praṇava and Mātṛkā on the different parts of his body.

This process of placing the letters of the Mantra is then repeated with some additions on the worshipable image of the deity. The image of the deity is considered simply to be a skeleton which is to be purified with the help of the Mantra and turned into a worthy seat for the deity before she could be invoked into it.

The image is subsequently made to assume the character of Viṣṇu by the pūjaka who brings its different parts into association with the twelve Mūrtis (= aspects, manifestations) of Viṣṇu (e.g., Keśava, Nārāyaṇa, Mādhava, Govinda, Madhusūdan, Trivikram, Vāmana, Śrīdhara, Hṛṣīkeśa, Padmanābha, Dāmodara and Viṣṇu himself). The names of these Mūrtis are preceded by the names of the twelve Ādityas[96] who are associated with them.

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* says that the worshipper meditates upon five Nyāsas such as Daśākṣaramantra Nyāsa, Saṁhārasṛṣṭi Nyāsa, Vibhūtipañjara Nyāsa, Mṛtyupañjara Nyāsa and Ṛṣyādi Nyāsa and Pañcāṅga Mudrās like Śūkarī Mudrā, Mṛgī Mudrā and Vyāpinī Mudrā,[97] etc. According to the purāṇa, the Saṁhāra Nyāsa destroys all the impurities or sins of the

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heart of the devotee.[98] The Mṛtyu Pañjara Nyāsa wipes out the possibilities of immature death of the deity.[99]

Thus, the ritual sanctification of the devotee as well as the image are attained. The body of the devotee and the worshipable image serve as the abode of the deity. The deity emerges in the heart of the devotee, is first worshipped there and later, in addition to her presence in the heart of the deovtee, is transferred to the image as well.

2. The Internal Worship of the Deity

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* describes the Antaryajana Vidhi[100] conducted by the worshipper after producing the image of Kṛṣṇa-Jagannātha[101] in his heart. This is the 'internal' or mental worship offered to the deity by the worshipper. He performs a 'fire sacrifice' (homa)[102] in his heart. The Cakra in the Mūlādhāra[103] is considered as a Vedī and the deity as the fire burning in it. With the help of the ladles etc., in form of manas and Suṣumṇā[104] he pours down in this 'fire' and burns his pride, untruth, wickedness, passions and desires, anger, delusion and jealousy etc.[105]

3. External Worship of the Deity

Our purāṇa mentions three forms of worship, viz., Mānasī, Vāhyakā and Aparā.[106] The worshipper proceeds to worship the deity externally after the completion of mental worship.[107]

(a) Arghya Saṁskāra

The bahiryāga starts with the preparation of the holy arghya water which is used in a number of rites in the pūjā. Our purāṇa first describes the procedures of selection of water-pot.[108] The pot is made of gold, silver, copper or brass.[109] The worshipper draws a certain maṇḍala on the ground, invokes the orbit of Fire (vahni-maṇḍala) in it, places a conch on the maṇḍala invokes the orbit of the Sun in the conch and pours ordinary water into it uttering the letters of Mātṛkā in reverse order and drops some fragrance (i.e., sandal paste) and flowers in it. He invokes first the orbit of the moon with its sixteen phases (Kalā).[110] We find the inclusion of Sāgalinī Mudrā,[111] Avaguṇṭhana Mudrā[112] and Dhenu Mudrā[113] in connection with the purification of the water. The water, after being sanctified with the help of several Mudrās and Vījas turns into Amṛta for the deity. Our purāṇa mentions Vāyuvīja, Agnivīja and Varuṇavijas by which the water is made purified.[114]

(b) Upacāra Saṁskāra

The worshipper then sprinkles the Arghya-water everywhere in order to purify the articles of Upacāra[115] (flowers, lamps, etc.). He uses Tulasī-leaves to sprinkle the water-drops.[116] Tulasī is the holy basil held in veneration by the Hindus, especially by the worshipper of Viṣṇu (Jagannātha). The pūjaka of Jagannātha sprinkles water-drops on the deity as well as on himself.[117] Our purāṇa describes that the worshipper sprinkles the Arghya-water on each and every article what he sees around himself.[118] He also purifies the water-pot[119] used in pūjā. He shows different types of Mudrās like Dhenu Mudrā and Mahā Mudrā,[120] etc. The holy

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water-pot and the bathing-pot of the deity after being purified separately by the Arghya-water, are wrapped with thin white cloth.[121] Then, the worshipper performs Mānasī pūjā.[122]

(c) Mānasī Pūjā

As mentioned earlier, the worshipper imagines his body as a Pīṭha (seat) or a Yantra for the deity. The heart of the worshipper is considered as a thousand petalled lotus[123] in the centre of which the deity is present. Gaṇeśvara is worshipped on the four-petals of the lotus.[124] The pūjaka pays reverence to the Śaktis[125] of Viṣṇu. Thereupon, since he is identical with the deity herself, the devotee worships the 'flute' (of Kṛṣṇa) between the lips, garland of wild flowers on his neck, Śrīvatsa on his chest and Kaustubha on his heart.[126] The devotee now applies tiḷakas[127] on different parts of his body. The tiḷaka is prepared from sandal paste.[128] The worshipper applies tiḷaka on his fore-head by the four-fingers and makes the shape of the foot-prints of Hari in the middle of the tiḷaka-lines. He draws the outlines of Keśava on the left and Sadāśiva on the right. With the help of tiḷaka, he paints bamboo-leaves on the arms.[129] In this way, the devotee applies twelve tiḷakas on those spots of his body on which he has placed the twelve aspects of Viṣṇu. He then offers to himself five handfuls of flowers[130] as he would do it to the image of the deity. He again worships the deity with mental Upacāras, perform Prāṇāyāma and mutters the Viṣṇugāyatrī.[131] This process is known as ātmaśuddhi or the purification of self. Similarly, he purifies the basic Mantra (mantra śuddhi) and the image of the deity (devatā śuddhi) with the help of some Mudrās and Mantras.

(d) Devatā Pīṭha Pūjā

He now seeks permission from the deity to perform her external worship.[132] He prepares a beautiful Pīṭha below the feet of Viṣṇu.[133] He worships the deities Durgā, Lakṣmī and Gaṇeśvara on the rightside of the Pīṭha and offers Tulasī to all of them.[134] The Yantra is prepared with the help of sandal paste in order to invoke the deity into the image. The Yantra of Jagannātha consists of (from the centre to the outside) a point (bindu), a sexagon, a circle, an eight-petalled lotus, a square and four 'gateways'. All the divinities connected with the Yantra beginning with the gurus and ādhāraśakti (outside the Yantra) upto Vāsudeva (in the centre of the Yantra) are worshipped with simple Namaskāra-Mantra (e.g., *Śrīgurubhyo namaḥ*) and the letters of the Mantras '*ŚrīKṛṣṇāya namaḥ*' as well as '*Klīṁ ŚrīKṛṣṇāya Svāhā*' are placed on the six corners of the sexagon and the eight petals respectively. The worshipper then meditates upon the deities of the Pīṭha.

4. Invocation of the Deity into the Image

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* describes that the worshipper, after meditating upon the deities in the Pīṭha (in his heart), performs the rites for the invocation of the deities into the image.[135] Here the purāṇa mentions the 'Brahma' is present everywhere and in everybody.[136] It appears in all the images like Viṣṇu, Nṛsiṁha, Kṛṣṇa, Rāma, Nārāyaṇa and also in the Dāru.[137] Such deities are invocated by the pūjaka into the image which is then worshipped. The devotee worships the charming image of ŚrīKṛṣṇa by the Pīṭha Mantras and imagines that the image sits on a red-lotus flower under the shade of the great banyan tree (Kalpavṛkṣa).[138] When the image of the deity becomes steady in his heart, he takes the tejas (glow) of the deity through

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Suṣumṇā channel to his forehead.[139] Taking a handful of flowers in his hand and holding it upright he lets the tejas of the deity descend on these flowers with the help of the prāṇas through his right nostril.[140] He then gently places these flowers on the head of the image. The deity descends into the image through the brahmarandhra of the image and takes seat in his heart on the Yantra.

It may be noted here that the tejas of the deity is not completely transferred from the heart of the worshipper to the worshipable image. During the performance of pūjā, the tejas of the deity remains present at both the places, i.e., in the heart of the worshipper as well as in the worshipable image. According to our purāṇa, the process of the realization of the deity into the image follows the rites like āvāhana, saṁsthāpana, sannidhāna, sammukhīkaraṇa, nirodhana, sakalīkaraṇa, avaguṇṭhana, pīyūṣakaraṇa and paramīkaraṇa.[141] The deity is now believed to be firmly established in the image.

The worshipper, then, performs the rites of Jīvanyāsa by which the life (jīva) is created in the image (dāru).[142] He invokes Lord Kṛṣṇa. He recites the Prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā Mantra[143] relating to each and every limb of the deity so that prāṇa is given to each sense organ and the organs of action of the deity. He exhibits Mātṛkā Nyāsa, Keśavādi Nyāsa and Ṛṣyādi Nyāsas and mutters the Mantras of ten Tattvas like Sṛṣṭi, Sthiti and Laya etc.[144] Finally, he performs Mūrtipañjara Nyāsa.[145] The deity now assume a qualified state (saguṇarūpa)[146] with which she can accept the worship of the devotee. Before worshipping the deity by the sixteen Upacāras, the worshipper shows the various Mudrās before the deity.[147]

5. The Actual Worship of the Deity by Means of Sixteen Upacāras

(a) Upacāradāna

The process of offering sixteen Upacāras to the deity is the next item of pūjā ceremony which our purāṇa describes in a great detail. The devotee acts as a host to the deity who is considered as his guest. The worshipper honours the deity by offering many articles and the benevolent services which are known as Upacāras. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* includes the sixteen Upacāras[148] in the following order :

1. Āsana (seat)
2. Svāgata (words of welcome)
3. Pādya (water for washing the feet)
4. Arghya (water for washing the face, etc.)
5. Ācamanīya (ablutionary water)
6. Madhuparka (a kind of sweet refreshment)
7. Ācamanīya
8. Snāna (bath)
9. Vastra (clothes)

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10. Ābharaṇa (ornaments)
11. Gandha (perfume, i.e., sandal paste)
12. Puṣpa (flowers)
13. Dhūpa (incense)
14. Dīpa (lamp, light)
15. Naivedya (food)
16. Vandanā (obeisance and pleasing words)

The offering of all Upacāras have their particular Mantras, Mudrās and Verses which usually lay stress on the abstract character of the deity. The worshipper shows the concerned Mudrās and recites the appropriate Mantras relating to the specific Upacāra. Though the devotee is very much aware of the fact that the offering of the articles to the deity has no meaning, since the Lord is the almighty and everything belongs to him (to the Lord), still he (the devotee) offers the same for his own satisfaction and thereby obeys the wordly convention.

The Upacāra āsana is performed with the help of five flowers offered to the deity and by showing her the Mudrā of lotus, the seat of the deity. Svāgata is also performed with flowers, ten in number and by showing a Mudrā with both the hands which expresses the gesture of welcome to the guest. Pādya is kept in a metallic bowl out of which some drops are sprinkled at the feet of the image. Arghya is sprinkled in the head as well as face. We have already dealt with the elaborate process of the preparation of Arghya water. Ācamanīya too is offered in a metallic bowl and after offering it the worshipper presents a towel to the deity to dry her mouth with. Madhuparka is a mixture of honey, curd and milk etc., and it was invariably offered to the guests in ancient times when they came to the house of their hosts after a tiresome journey. It is offered to the deity in a small bowl with appropriate Mantras. After taking Madhuparka the deity again requires Ācamanīya to clean her mouth and to sip a few drops from it. The devotee now invites the deity to the Snānamaṇḍapa for taking bath. She is given bath in a mirror fixed in a bowl in which the image of the deity is reflected. He then offers her two garments (upper and lower) of yellow colour; the lower one is placed on the waist of the image and the upper one is put on its shoulders. A Yajñopavīta (sacred thread) also forms part of the offering of vastra. Ābharaṇa is mostly one or two golden ornaments which are usually stuck on the garment of the deity. Sandal paste is then applied on the forehead, chest, arms, etc., of the deity which forms the Upacāra gandha and then flowers mixed with Tulasī leaves are offered to the deity and are placed on her head, heart and at the feet.

(b) The Worship of the Deities Surrounding Viṣṇu (Jagannātha)

Before offering the rest of the Upacāras like Dhūpa, Dīpa, Naivedya and Vandanā, the deities situated around Lord Jagannātha are worshipped.[149] These deities are seven in number and they surround the main deity in form of circles. These circles are known as Āvaraṇas and each one of them contains a certain number of divinities connected with Kṛṣṇa.

The first Āvaraṇa consists of the four close friends or playmates of Kṛṣṇa. They are Dāma, Sudāma, Vasudāma and Kiṅkiṇī.[150] According to our purāṇa, they are all black-coloured

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and are dressed like Kṛṣṇa.[151] They are associated with the Kaiśora-state of the life.[152] In the second, the deity is surrounded with the Hṛdaya, Śiras, Śikhā, Kavaca as well as the Astra portions of her basic Mantra. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* describes that the Hṛnmantra Devatās are white-coloured and dressed with all the precious ornaments. They are associated with the Youth-state of life. Each one of them has three eyes.[153] The third circle consists of the eight wives of Kṛṣṇa (Rukmiṇī, Satyabhāmā, Jāmbavatī, Nagnajitā, Sunandā, Mitravindā, Sulakṣaṇā and Suśīlā).[154] The fourth Āvaraṇa includes the real and the foster parents of Kṛṣṇa (Vasudeva-Devakī and Nanda-Yaśodā), his brother Balabhadra, sister Subhadrā as well as cowherds and cowmaids.[155] The fifth circle consists of the five Kalpavṛkṣas in the Golaka (celestial Vṛndāvana);[156] the sixth of the eight exclusive Bhaktas and attendants of Kṛṣṇa such as Uddhava, Nārada, Akrūra, Dāruka, Viśvakesana and Vainateya, etc.,[157] and the seventh or the outermost circle, of all the Dikpāḷas together with their weapons, Vāhanas and the family members. The devotee mutters separate Namaskāra Mantras for the Dikpāḷas which include a few details about their appearance and main attributes, etc.[158] He recites praṇava in the name of each deity (āvaraṇa devatā) and worships with jaḷa, puṣpa, akṣata, dhūpa and dīpa.[159]

The worshipper ends the Āvaraṇa pūjā by ringing a small bell which he holds in his left hand.[160] This bell is purified before its use.

(c) Continuation of the Upacāradāna

After worshipping all the deities situated around Lord Jagannātha, the devotee starts again the task of Upacāradāna which now begins with the offering of dhūpa.[161] The incense consists of specially prepared mixture of many fragrant ingredients. The utensil in which the incense is burning is held infront of the face, specifically under the nose of the deity. Offering of incense is associated with an appropriate Mantra.

The worshipper, then shows dīpa thrice in front of the deity.[162] The dīpa normally contains seven cotton wicks soaked in melted butter. It is moved slowly in a circle before the deity. The offering is accompanied with its Mantra and Mudrā.

Now comes the most important of all Upacāras, the Naivedya. The Naivedya is prepared from six items, viz., Bhakṣya, Bhojya, Coṣya, Lehya, Carvya and Peya.[163] Each one is called a Rasa.

The Naivedya has to undergo a long process of ritual purification before it could be offered to the deity. The worshipper 'looks' at it with a particular Mudrā, sprinkles and 'guards' it with the Astra Mantra (= *svāhā*), 'dries' it up with the Vījamantra of wind (*yaṁ*), places his right hand over it uttering the Vījamantra of Fire (*raṁ*) in order to 'burn' it out, 're-creates' the same Bhoga - which is now devoid of its impurities[164] - with the help of the Vījamantra of water/Amṛta (*vaṁ*) and turns this Bhoga into Amṛta (nectar or ambrosia) - the only food that the gods take, with the help of the Dhenu-Mudrā.[165] After offering Pādya and Ācamanīya anew to the deity to wash her feet and cleanse her mouth, the worshipper sets off to offer this Amṛta to "Kṛṣṇa, the Bhagavat, the one who consists of all what is there in the universe." By uttering the basic Mantra and the Mantra of the Upacāra Naivedya, the devotee presents the Naivedya to the deity.[166]

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During the performance of the rites of Naivedya, the doors of the sanctum are closed. While the deity is believed to take the food, the worshipper performs the japa of the basic Mantra for fifty-four times and offers this japa to the deity. At the end of the Naivedya he offers the deity water to drink followed by a few drops of another water. Other formalities like the offering of the water for cleaning the mouth, towel and finally, a betel-leaf (tāmbūḷa) are carried out in the prescribed manner.

After Naivedya is over, the doors of the sanctum are opened and the ārātrika (lights) is offered to the deity to the loud accompaniment of the music which is played in the dancing hall of the temple. For ārātrika camphor is burnt in a special metallic plate generating seven flames. Our purāṇa mentions that the pūjaka performs the Homa ritual before Aposāna (offering water to drink) and offers Piṣṭakavartti after completing the task of Aposāna. Then, the worshipper goes out of the temple and offers 'Balis' to the deities in the inner compound of the temple. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* describes the 'Balidāna'[168] Vidhi and 'Caṇḍa Pradāna'[169] Vidhi in its 81st chapter. It is believed that the Naivedya is not acceptable by the Lord without 'Caṇḍa'.[170]

Finally, the worshipper offers a heap of flowers to the deity (Lord Jagannātha) in the form of Puṣpāñjali and bows to the deity. He then prays the deity and praises the Lord by reciting the virtues. This is called Vandanā, the last Upacāra. Here, the devotee totally offers him to the Lord in a submissive manner.[171]

(d) Rājopacāraṇi

The pūjā of Lord Jagannātha, however, contains an additional element, namely the offering of the 'royal' Upacāras, i.e., articles which signify the royal authority. Jagannātha is considered not only the 'Lord of the universe' in the religious sense, but also the paramount ruler of Orissa in the political sense. The royal insignia offered to Lord Jagannātha include a Chatra (umbrella), Cāmara (chowrie), Vyajana (fan), Darpaṇa (mirror), Pāḍukā (sandals), Geet (songs, music) and Nṛtya (dance), all of which are offered with corresponding Mudrās and the recitation of the prescribed Verses.

(e) Brahmārpaṇa

The worshipper concludes pūjā ceremony by uttering the Brahmārpaṇa Mantra with which he dedicates the pūjā to the deity, the merit occurring from it as well as all his other deeds and misdeeds. He shows the Saṁhār Mudrā[172] to the deity which marks the end of pūjā.

6. Nirmālya-Dāna and Nirmālya-Grahṇa

After completion of pūjā, the worshipper offers Nirmālya (flowers, Tulasī, etc.) to the various deities like Bali, Vibhiṣaṇa, Bhīṣma, Nārada, Phālguna, Prahlāda, Kapila, etc., situated in the inner compound of the temple.[173] Then, he takes Nirmālya flowers, Tulasī, etc., (i.e., those which have already been offered to the deity) in his hands[174] and thereby he takes back the 'tejas' of the deity into his heart. This rite is known as Udrāsana.

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7. Offering of Naivedya to Vimaḷā

The Naivedya of Lord Jagannātha, after it has been offered to Him, is sent to the temple of Vimaḷā where it is once more offered to this Śākta goddess. Only after it has been relished by the goddess it assumes the designation Mahāprasāda in the terminology of the Jagannātha temple. The devotee worships the goddess Vimaḷā in the prescribed manner and the Mahāprasāda is then brought back to the Jagannātha temple before giving a final touch to the pūjā ceremony.

8. Taking of the Prasāda of the Deity

The worshipper places the flowers (Nirmālya) etc., used by the deity in his body and takes some portion of the Mahāprasāda. Most of the Mahāprasāda is then distributed among the people present in the temple and the sevakas of Jagannātha.

9. Rites of Tarpaṇa and Mārjana

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* describes these two rites after the completion of the worship.[175] The worshipper prepares a Pīṭha[176] in front of the deity and covers that by a piece of cloth. He invokes the Ādhāra Śaktis[177] to the Pīṭha where they are worshipped with Tulasī-leaves, scented water, flowers, dhūpas and dīpas, etc. He worships Kṛṣṇa in the middle of the Pīṭha with the recitation of praṇava. He takes water in a container made of gold and purifies it. He utters Mūlamantra, Saramantra, Kavacamantra and shows Dhenu Mudrā. Finally, with the help of Śikhāmantra he converts the water to Amṛta (amṛtīkaraṇa). He mixes sandal paste and flowers with the water so prepared and then sprinkles it on the image of ŚrīKṛṣṇa and recites the Mantras of Tarpaṇa. Thereafter, he sprinkles the water on the Ādhāra Śaktis separately with the utterance of their names.

The purāṇa includes the rites of Mārjana after the performance of Tarpaṇa. He touches all the limbs of the deity one hundred eight times and completes the Mārjanakarma.[178] Our purāṇa speaks that the worships of the deity becomes futile without Tarpaṇa, Mārjana and Bhojana.[179]

III

WORSHIP OF BALABHADRA

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* describes in nut-shell the procedures of worship of Balabhadra in its chapters 85-87 and then includes the modes of worship of the goddess Subhadrā.[180] The deities Indra, Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera, Śiva, Agni, Sūrya, Marut, etc., are worshipped by the Dvādaśākṣara Mantra which is the specific Mantra used in the worship of Balabhadra.[181] As the case of Jagannātha's worship, the pūjā of Balabhadra continues from morning to night by steps. It includes morning-worship (prātaḥ-dhyāna), afternoon-worship (madhyāhna-dhyāna), evening-worship (sāyāhna-dhyāna) and finally worships of the night. Accordingly, the pūjaka

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of Balabhadra meditates upon the deity and performs Ṛṣyādi Nyāsas, Keśavādi Nyāsas, Saṁhāra Nyāsa, Sṛṣṭi-sthiti Nyāsa and as before Mūrtipañjara Nyāsa. The worshipper, after completion of Pañcāṅga Dhyāna and Digvandana, etc., shows Śaṁkhādi Mudrās to the deity. All the rites of personal purification of the pūjaka are carried in detail. The worshipper then takes the task of Prāṇāyāma, uses tiḷaka and utters Vāsudeva Gāyatrī and praṇava Vījamantra,[182] etc. He recites Mūlamantra as the worshipper of Lord Jagannātha does. The Gāyatrī is uttered for 108 times whereas the Mūlamantra for one thousand times or five hundred times or to a minimum of three hundred times.[183] After meditation, the worshipper begins Pīṭha-pūjā and then invokes the deity to the Pīṭha[184] so prepared. He shows all the Pīṭha Nyāsas there. The pūjā comes to an end when the worshipper offers Puṣpāñjali to the deity.[185]

IV

WORSHIP OF SUBHADRĀ

The goddess Subhadrā is worshipped in the Bhuvaneśvarī Mantra. Our purāṇa describes the corresponding Nyāsas and Dhyānas of this Mantra. It speaks of Yonyādi Mudrās and their characteristics. Besides, the other Mudrās shown by the worshipper are Dhenu Mudrā, Sūli Mudrā, Sara Mudrā and Aṅkuśa Mudrā, etc., of sixteen types. Bhuvaneśvarī Gāyatrī is the important aspect of Subhadrā's worship. The worshipper performs Pīṭha Pūjā, Āvaraṇa pūjā and recites the prescribed Nyāsas and Mantras. The purāṇa describes Mātṛkā Nyāsa and Subhadrā-Stuti in its ninetieth chapter.

Subhadrā is worshipped in *Hrīṁ* Vījamantra.[186] She is dressed with different dresses and ornaments in the morning, in the afternoon and in the evening. The worshipper starts the actual worship with the utterance of *Oṁ*-Kāra.[187] Then, he recites Siṁha Mantra and invokes the deity to the image.[188] The devotee performs Mātṛkā Nyāsa, Kalā Nyāsa, Tattva Nyāsa, Pīṭha Nyāsa, Ṛṣyādi Nyāsa, Hṛllekhādi Nyāsa and finally Brahmāṇyādi Nyāsa.[189] He thinks the goddess as Umā, Sarasvatī, Lakṣmī, Śrīdevī, Durgā, etc., and narrates their shapes. Besides, these deities, he worships the goddesses Brahmāṇī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī, Indrāṇī, Cāmuṇḍā and Lakṣmī, who are situated in the eight different corners. He uses gandha (incense), puṣpa (flower), akṣata (sun-dried-rice) and jaḷa (water) for the worship.[190] After presenting all the ingredients to the deity, the worshipper utters Devī-Stutis in which he compares Subhadrā with Brahma.[191] She is the Brahma herself.

After pūjā, the worshipper wears Nirmālya (the flowers which have been used by the deity) and takes the Prasāda of the deity, i.e., the Naivedya which has been left by the deity after eating.

Thus, the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* presents the detailed descriptions of all the purifications and the rites observed in the worship of Jagannātha Trinity. Besides these different modes of worship, our purāṇa also conceives the ideas about philosophy and religion attributed to Jagannātha Cult.

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Ratna siṁhāsane divye tāvadāvirvabhūvaha//
Baḷena bhadrayā yuktaḥ so'yaṁ saha sudarśanaḥ/
Viśvadhātryā ca lakṣmyā ca mādhavena samaṁtadā//
Saptadhāvirbhavo devaḥ svayaṁ tatra janārddanaḥ/"
2. *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, III, Ch.XLVI, pp.2-3.
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Praṇave paramākāśasthaḷasthe vedamūḷake//"
6. *N.M.*, 38.1 :
"Brāhmye muhūrtte cothāya śayanāddeśikottamaḥ/
Śuddhaṁ vastrāntaraṁ bhūtvā yatcitto hariṁ smaret//"
7. *N.M.*, 38.5b : "Prārthayeddharaṇīṁ devīṁ kṛtānjaliputastataḥ//"
8. *N.M.*, 38.12b : "Tataḥ praṇavamuccāryya...../"
9. *N.M.*, 38.24b : "Gaṅgāsmṛtvā jaḷe viśya vāruṇasnānamācaret//"
10. *N.M.*, 38.27a : "Ṛṣiśca chando gāyatrī devatā varuṇaḥ smṛtaḥ/"
11. *N.M.*, 38.31b : ".....nirmale toye snāyādvāratrayaṁ vudhaḥ//"
12. *N.M.*, 38.43b : "Mūlena manunāmantrya jalaṁ cauva tridhāpunaḥ//"
13. *N.M.*, 38.48a : "Mūrtipañjaranyāsasya mantreṇa tatpade sudhīḥ/"
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"Śaṁkhapadmau tathā cakraṁ dakṣavahau nyaset sudhīḥ/
Cakraṁ gadāṁ tathā śaṁkhaṁ dhārayet vāma vāhuke//"
15. *N.M.*, 38.51b : "Vidhāya vaidikīṁ saṁdhyāṁ mūlamantreṇa mantravit//"
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18. *N.M.*, 38.83b : "Tato'pi hrīṁ haṁ sa iti sūryyāyārghaṁ pradāpayet//"
19. *N.M.*, 39.1 :
"Sūryyopasthāna karmānte kuśeṣvāvāhānaṁ caret/
Pratyekaṁ tarpaṇaṁ karyyaṁ yathānyāyaṁ mahīpate//"
20. *N.M.*, 39.5b : "Mūlamantraṁ samuccāryya śrīkṛṣṇaṁ sava kāmadaṁ//"
21. *N.M.*, 39.7a : "Oṁ haṁ saḥ sūryyāyasvāhā paṭhitvārghyaṁ pradāpayet/"
22. *N.M.*, 39.8 :
"Sūryyasya maṇḍale devīṁ vibhāvya mūlamantrataḥ/
Yathāśakti paraṁ japtvā saṁhāramudrāyā tataḥ//"
23. *N.M.*, 39.10b : "Vaiṣṇavācamanaṁ kuryyāt...../"
24. *N.M.*, 39.23a : "Etat karma viṇādhunā madhubhidaḥ pūjāṁ ca homādikam/"

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26. *N.M.*, 40.23b : "Dhautāyāṁ pākaśālāyaṁ homaṁ kuru mahāmate//"
N.M., 40.22a : "Homārthaṁ pākāśālāyāṁ vaiṣṇavāgnau jagatpate/"
27. *N.M.*, 40.77a : "..... tadvahnau mūlena dvādaśāhutiḥ/"
28. *N.M.*, 41.2a : "Bhurityasya ca mantrasya prajāpatiraham ṛṣi/"
29. *N.M.*, 41.2b : "Gāyatrī chanda evātra devatā vahnirucyate//"
30. *N.M.*, 41.3 :
"Viniyogastvājyahometataḥ praṇavamuccaret/
Prathamāntaśca bhūśavdaḥ svāhāntaśceti saṁvadet//"
31. *N.M.*, 41.8a : "Triṣṇāṁ vyāhutīnāṁ tu yugapatnāma dhāraṇam/"
32. *N.M.*, 41.32b : "Mūrddhānamiti mantrasya bharadvājomuniḥ smṛtaḥ//"
33. *N.M.*, 41.33a : "Anuṣṭubhākhyakaṁ chando vaiśvānaraśca devatā/"
34. *N.M.*, 41.35 :
"Tato vahni viṣṇurūpaṁ vicintya prāśanaṁ tataḥ/
Mārjanaṁ ca tataḥ kṛtvā kṛtasyāsya ca karmaṇaḥ//"
35. *N.M.*, 41.37b : "Visarjanaṁ brahmaṇaṁ śca tathā vahnervisarjanam//"
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Śāla śāraṅgayoścāpi śruvaḥ syāt dharaṇīdhava/"
38. *N.M.*, 42.82a : "Etāni pūrvavat kṛtvā ṣaḍaṅganyāsa mācaret/"
39. *N.M.*, 42.82b : "Karanyāsaṁ tataḥ kṛtvā dyaṅganyāsaṁ tathaivaca//"
40. *N.M.*, 42.83 :
"Ādityaṁ ca raviṁ caiva bhānuṁ bhāskaramevaca/
Sūryyaṁ ca kramato nyasyedādityādīni pañca ca//"
41. *N.M.*, 42.94b : "Dhyāyeddevaṁ sūryyarūpaṁ trailokyānandavarddhanam//"
42. *N.M.*, 42.95-96a :
"Evaṁ triṣu ca kāleṣu dhyātvā mudrāṁ pradarśayet/
Vyoma mudrā padma mudrā kamvu mudrā ca niṣṭhurā//
Goviṣanā dhenu mudrā tāpinī saptamudrikā/"
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Mūlamantreṇa tenāśu jaḷaṁ ca pūrayet sudhīḥ/"
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Agre durgāṁ caturthyantāṁ kṣetrapālaṁ ca pṛṣṭhataḥ/"

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56. *N.M.*, 47.93a : "Agniprākāramācintya rākṣasādya praveśane/"

57. *N.M.*, 48.9-10 :
"Mudrāmetādṛśīṁ kṛtvā tataścānandakandataḥ/
Jātantu jñānanālāḍhyaṁ aiśvaryyāpyaṣṭapatrakam//
Vairāgya karṇikāyuktaṁ monkāreṇa prakāśitam/
Etādṛśantu kamalaṁ dhyātvā tat karṇikāntare//"

58. *N.M.*, 48.11-12 :
"Pradīpa kalikākāraṁ jīvātmānañca cintayet/
Suṣumṇā mārgatohaṁsa itimantreṇa taṁ punaḥ//
Sahasradalapadmaste paramātmani yojayet/
Jīvaṁ sthulo'tisūkṣmaśca paraśca sa udāhṛtaḥ//"

59. *N.M.*, 45.44a : "Aṇḍaṁ dvikhaṇḍaṁ vai kṛtya praṇavena mahāsinā/"

60. *N.M.*, 45.44b : "Bhūrityekaṁ dvitīyaṁ dauriti saṁcintya cetasā//"

61. *N.M.*, 45.45b : "So'hamityeva mantreṇa...../"

62. *N.M.*, 50.5a : "Evaṁ kṛtvābhūtaśuddhiṁ prāṇaṁ saṁsthāpayediha/"

63. *N.M.*, 50.6 :
"Manoḥ prāṇa pratiṣṭhāyā ṛṣayścātra te smṛtāḥ/
Brahmā viṣṇuśca rudraśca tataśchandāṁsi bhūsurāḥ//"

64. *N.M.*, 50.7a : "Ṛg yajuḥ sāmachandāṁsi smṛtānyatra maharṣibhiḥ/"

65. *N.M.*, 50.22b : "..... kuryāt ṣaḍaṅganyāsa mādarāt//"

66. *N.M.*, 50.31 :
"Punaryaṁ cāpi raṁceti laṁ vaṁ śaṁ ṣaṁ tathāpare/
Saṁ haṁ laṁ ca kṣaṁ cetivruvanmapi jīvātmane namaḥ//"

67. *N.M.*, 50.33a : "Ithiṁ nyāsaṁ samapyātha yathādhyānaṁ caredvudhaḥ/"
N.M., 50.36b : "..... prāṇamudrāprakirttitā//"

68. *N.M.*, 50.38b-39a :
"Haṁsa so'hamiti mama prāṇā iha punaścate//
Evaṁ punastathaivoktva mama jīva iti sthitaḥ/"
N.M., 50.40b : "Mama vāṅmanaso ścaiva śotraghrāṇe tataḥ param//"

69. *N.M.*, 51.1b : "Smaret prāṇapratiṣṭhānte parāṁ śaktiṁ paraṁ tapa//"

70. *N.M.*, 51.8 :
"A kārovījamākhyātuḥ śaktiḥ u kāra ucyate/
Ma kāraḥ kīlakaṁ prokta prāṇāyāme tataḥ param//"

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71. *N.M.*, 51.17 :
"Purakaṁ pratharn mantrī kumbhakaṁ tadanantaram/
Recakaṁ śūnyakaṁ ceti kuryādevaṁ caturvidham//"

72. *N.M.*, 51.15a : "Praṇavanyāsamācaryācāryavaryaḥ sa bhūpate/"

73. A kāra (*N.M.*, 51.12a), U kāra (*N.M*, 51.13a), Ma kāra (N.M, 51.14a).

74. *N.M.*, 55.2a : "Ādhāra padmamaruṇaṁ caturdala samanvitam/"
N.M., 55.8a : "Liṅgesvādhiṣṭhānake ca ṣaḍdale vyadināntake/"
N.M., 55.10b : "Maṇipure daśadale nābhau cūḍādipāntake//"

75. *N.M.*, 55.55b : "..... trinayanarucirāṁ bhāratīṁ bhāvayetām//"

76. *N.M.*, 55.67a : "Puṣpairvā cetasā vāpi hyasave nyāsamācaret/"

77. *N.M.*, 57.33a : "Keśavādi nyāsayuto yaḥ pūjayati keśavam/"

78. *N.M.*, 58.2a : "Śrīkaṇṭha mātṛkā nyāsamantrasyāsya ṛṣiḥ kṛtaḥ/"
N.M., 58.3a : "Arddhanārīsvaro'phyatra devatā kathito vudhaiḥ/"

79. *N.M.*, 57.86a : "Dadhānāstāḥ svarobhūtāḥ kalānyāse pratiṣṭhitāḥ/"

80. *N.M.*, 56.10a : "Hṛdaye devatā nyāsaṁ talena racayedvudhaḥ/"

81. *N.M.*, 57.2b : "Klīṁ śrīṁ vījaśaktiṁ ca kathito munipuṅgavaiḥ//"
N.M., 58.3b :
"Hrīṁ vījamantra kathitaṁ śaktiḥ sā ca nirūpyate//"
Also, *Jagannātha Caritāmṛta*, Ch.14.

82. *N.M.*, 57.37 :
"Gāyatrī chanda evātra sarvasaubhāgya dāyinī/
Tadvacchakti vījayuktā mātṛkānyāsa eva ca//"

83. *N.M.*, 59.1 :
"Ataḥ paraṁ pravakṣyāmi tattvanyāsaṁ mahodayam/
Yannyāsa smaraṇādeva brahmabhūto bhavennaraḥ//"

84. *N.M.*, 60.6a : "Prāṇāyāma samapyātha yogapīṭhaṁ nijāṅgake/"

85. *N.M.*, 60.17b : "Oṁ cetyuktvā tataḥ somamaṇḍalāyeti deśikaḥ//"

86. *N.M.*, 61.5b : "Oṁ kārātmanatastasmāt tejasomūlamantra jaṁ//"

87. *Ibid.*

88. *N.M.*, 61.10a : "Aṅganyāsaṁ tataḥ kuryāt vyāpakānte dvijottamaḥ/"

89. *N.M.*, 62.8b : "ŚrīKṛṣṇasya pratikṛtimadhiṣṭhātrīṁ ca devatām//"

90. *N.M.*, 62.7b-8a :
"Evamṛṣyādikaṁ kuryāt niṣkāmodvija pungavaḥ//
Sakāmastu manostasya kuryāddurgāṁ suresvarīm/"

91. *N.M.*, 62.9 :
"Āyudhottamametatt cakraṁ viṣṇoḥ prakīrttitam/
Tasmātcakreṇa pañcāṅga nyāsaṁ kuryādvicakṣaṇaḥ//"

92. *N.M.*, 62.19a : "Iti pañcāṅgakaṁ vījaṁ daśārṇānte niyunjayan/"

93. *N.M.*, 63.2 :
"Ataḥ paramidaṁ vanaṁ mihiranandinī nīraja/
Braja prakaṭa saurabhānila manoharaṁ sundaram//"

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94. *N.M.*, 64.1a : "Tṛtīya yajanakṣaṇe'sitagiromuradveṣiṇam/"
N.M., 64.4a : "Dvāravatyāṁ puriśreṣṭhairbhavanānāṁ sahasrakaiḥ/"

95. *N.M.*, 64.35 :
"Ramye vṛndāvane cañcat pavane yāmune ghane/
Tīre tatra svarṇamayī divyā ca kanakastanī//"

96. Twelve Ādityas associated with twelve Mūrtis :
Keśava (Dhātṛ), Nārāyaṇa (Aryaman), Mādhava (Mitra), Govinda (Varuṇa), Viṣṇu (Aṁśa), Madhusūdana (Bhaga), Trivikram (Vivasvat), Vāmana (Indra), Śrīdhara (Pūṣan), Hṛṣīkeśa (Parjanya), Padmanābha (Tvaṣṭṛ) and Dāmodara (Viṣṇu).
The names of these twelve Mūrtis of Viṣṇu are also used as the designations of the twelve months of the year (beginning with Mārgaśīrṣa or November, approximately) by the Vaiṣṇavas, especially those of the Gaṇḍīya sect.

97. *N.M.*, 65.3-4 :
"Etaddaśāṅga vinyāsaṁ pañca pañcāṅga mudrayā/
Sannyasya ca tataḥ pārśva dvaye śūkarīmudrayā//
Nābhau pṛṣthe nyasenmūrddhni mṛgīnāmnā ca mudrayā/
Oṁ kāraṁ puṭitaṁ mantraṁ kṛtvā vyāpaka mudrayā//"

98. *N.M.*, 66.1 :
"Saṁhārādiṁ yadā nyāsaṁ śarīre nṛpasattama/
Sarvapāpasamūhsya nāśāt saṁhāra ucyate//"

99. *N.M.*, 67.1 :
"Ataḥ paraṁ pravakṣyāmi mṛtyupañjaranāmakam/
Yannyāsa smaraṇādeva hyapamṛtyurvinaśyati//"

100. *N.M.*, 68.56a : "Antaryajanamācakṣe sāmprataṁ śṛṇu bhūpate//"

101. *N.M.*, 68.57 :
"Dhyātvātha nandatanayamātmānaṁ sa ca deśikaḥ/
Ātmanastasya kṛṣṇasyābhedaṁ saṁcintayettadā//"

102. *N.M.*, 68.63a : "Vaiśva devākhya homaṁ vai kuryānmānasikaṁ tataḥ/"

103. *N.M.*, 68.64a : "Mūlādhāraṁ kuṇḍamiti dhyātvā devāgni dīpitam/"

104. *N.M.*, 68.65a : "Manaśruveṇa saṁyuktaṁ mūlamantrājya saṁyuktam/"

105. *N.M.*, 68.66 :
"Ahantāṁ ca tvasattāṁ ca paiśunyaṁ kāmakrodhakau/
Lobhamohau madaṁ cāpi mātsaryyaṁ ca kramāddhunet//"

106. *N.M.*, 68.72b-73a :
"Pūjā ca trividhā khyātā mānasī vāhyakā tathā//
Aparā ca devagatā karttavyā trividhānaghā/"

107. *N.M.*, 68.73b : "Manasā yārccanā prānte vāhyapūjārthamarccakaḥ//"

108. *N.M.*, 69.3a : "Prathaṁ jaḷapātrasya nirṇayaṁ kathayāmyaham/"

109. *N.M.*, 69.6 :
"Maṇḍalādhāra cakrāḍhyaṁ raupyaṁ svarṇamayaṁ tathā/
Tacca tāmramayaṁ vāpi pittalairvāpi kārayet//"

110. *N.M.*, 70.20 :

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"Candrasyāmṛtarūpatvādeva santosakāraṇāt/
Ṣoḍaśendu prapūjyaṁ vai jaḷe'smin saṁcarennaraḥ//"

111. *N.M.*, 70.24b : "Yasyatsāgalinī mudrā śaṅkasyoparicālitā//"

112. *N.M.*, 70.27a : "Avaguṇṭhana mudrā sā karttavyā kavace natu/"

113. *N.M.*, 70.33a : "Adomukhatayā tāṁ tu dhenumudrāṁ pradarśayet/"

114. *N.M.*, 70.35a : "Vāyuvījaṁ samuccārya trivāraṁ deśikastataḥ/"
N.M., 70.36a : "Agnivījaṁ vicintyātha pañcavāraṁ tato dvijaḥ/"
N.M., 70.37a : "Tato varuṇavījena saptavāraṁ sa deśikaḥ/"

115. *N.M.*, 71.2b : "Pūjopakaraṇaṁ sarvaṁ naivedyaṁ caiva secayet//"

116. *N.M.*, 71.1b : "Tenaivārghajaḷenāśu tulasyāśca prasarvataḥ//"

117. *N.M.*, 71.2a : "Devatāṁ ca tathātmānaṁ secayedarccakottamaḥ/"

118. *N.M.*, 71.4b : "Prokṣaṇyāṁ vīkṣaṇaṁ kuryāt...../"

119. *N.M.*, 71.3a : "Prokṣaṇīpatra saṁskāraṁ...../"

120. *N.M.*, 71.5b : "Dhenu mudrā pradarśyātha mahāmudrāṁ pradarśayet//"

121. *N.M.*, 71.15b-17a :
"Prokṣaṇyāṁ ca samārabhya snānapātrāntamarccakaḥ//
Evaṁ ca saṁskṛtaṁ kuryātsarveṣāṁ ca pṛthak pṛthak/
Saṁskārānte punaḥ sūkṣmaṁ śuddhaṁ nirmalamamvaram//
Teṣu pātreṣu sarveṣu cchādayedati bhaktitaḥ/"

122. *N.M.*, 71.17b : "Ataḥ pūjāṁ prakurvīta pūjāmānasikīṁ yathā//"

123. *N.M.*, 71.18b : "Sahasradalasaṁpanne kamale vimaḷe'rccakaḥ//"

124. *N.M.*, 71.19a : "Gurun saṁpūjya cādhāre catuṣpatre gaṇeśvaram/"

125. *N.M.*, 71.19b : "Ādhāra śakti pramukhai ...../"

126. *N.M.*, 71.25 :
"Manasātha mukhe veṇu gale vanyasrajaṁ tathā/
Śrīvatsaṁ vakṣasi prītyā kaustubhaṁ hṛdidāpayet//"

127. *N.M.*, 71.26b : "Tiḷakaṁ kārayeddhīmān candanaiśca susaṁskṛtaiḥ//"

128. *Ibid.*

129. *N.M.*, 71.30b : "Veṇupatrākṛtiṁ kuryādvāhvośca tiḷakaṁ smṛtam//"

130. *N.M.*, 71.39b : "Pañcapuṣpāñjalīrdadyāddevātmaikyādidaṁ caret//"

131. *N.M.*, 71.69a : "Ityeṣā viṣṇugāyatrī...../"

132. *N.M.*, 72.8 :
"Vāhyapūjāṁ tathā kṛtvā saṁprataṁ tava pūjanam/
Karomi ca yathājñānaṁ hyaparādhān kṣamasvame//"

133. *N.M.*, 72.10a : "Tato viṣṇoḥ padāmvojatale pīṭhaṁ manoram/"

134. *N.M.*, 72.16 :
"Pīṭhasya dakṣiṇe bhāge durgāṁ lakṣīṁ gaṇeśvaram/
Tulasyā caiva tatsarvaṁ tebhyo dadyātsadeśikaḥ//"

135. *N.M.*, 74.5a : "Tanmūrttyāvāhanaṁ kuryātsarvarūpe niranjane/"

136. *N.M.*, 74.5b : "Sarvātmakaṁ yatobrahma sarvaṁ brahmaṇi saṁsthitam//"

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137. *N.M.*, 74.6 :
"Viṣṇoretaddārudehe sarvāmūrttiḥ prakalpyate/
Nṛsiṁho'traiva kṛṣṇo vā rāmo nārāyaṇastathā//"

138. *N.M.*, 74.8 :
"Aruṇāmvojamadhyastaṁ śrīkṛṣṇaṁ sumanoharam/
Pīṭhamantreṇa saṁpūjya mantrapūjātu pīṭhake//"

139. *N.M.*, 74.13a : "Suṣumṇāmārgatastacca bhruvormadhyagataṁ punaḥ/"

140. *N.M.*, 74.13b-15a :
"Saṁcintya deśikastacca dakṣaprāṇādhvanā punaḥ//
Vahirgataṁ vicintyātha tatpuṣpāṇi samākṣipet/
Pūjāmūrttyāṁ tacca tejo hṛṣitaṁ nṛpasattamaḥ//
Vāmanāsāpuṭenaiva veśayeddevatāhṛdi/"

141. *N.M.*, 74.17-19a :
"Ādaucāvāhanaṁ kuryātsaṁsthāpanamataḥ paraṁ/
Sannidhānaṁ tataḥ kuryāttannirodhan mataḥ param//
Sakalīkaraṇaṁ caiva tataḥ syādavaguṇṭhanam/
Dhenuṁ pīyūṣakaraṇaṁ mahāmudrāṁ tataḥ caret//
Paramīkaraṇaṁ kuryādetā mudrādaśa smṛtāḥ/"
N.M., 75.7a : "Sammukhī karaṇṁ tattu tatroktatvānn...../"

142. *N.M.*, 76.1a : "Dāruvrahmaṇi rūpe'smin jīvanyāsaṁ yathā caret/"

143. *N.M.*, 76.8 :
"Idaṁ prāṇāstvati vrūyāttārapūrvaṁ...../
Punaḥ punaḥ samuccārya tato jīva iha sthitaḥ//"

144. *N.M.*, 76.14 :
"Devatāṅge mātṛkāṁ ca keśavādiṁ tataḥ param/
Tatra nyāsaṁ ca mantrasya ṛṣyādiṁ ca samācaret//"
N.M., 76.15 :
"Sṛṣṭi sthitilayaṁ caiva dasatattvāni kārayet/
Mantreṇa puṭitāṁ tāvanmātṛkāṁ ca tathā caret//"

145. *N.M.*, 76.16a : "Mūrttipañjarakaṁ nyāsaṁ daśāṅgaṁ ca tadarddhakam/"

146. *N.M.*, 76.17b : "Etairnyāsai stadā brahma nirguṇaṁ saguṇaṁ bhavet//"

147. *N.M.*, 77.1a : "Pūrvavat devatāgre vai mudrāḥ śaṁkhādi saṁyutāḥ/"

148. Āsana (*N.M.*, 77.2a), Svāgat (*N.M.*, 77.7b), Pādya (*N.M.*, 77.7b), Arghya, Ācamanīya, Madhuparka (*N.M.*, 77.8), Snāna (*N.M.*, 77.41b), Vastra (*N.M.*, 77.49a), Ābharaṇa (*N.M.*, 77.63b), Gandha (*N.M.*, 77.67a), Puṣpa (*N.M.*, 77.72a), Dhūpa (*N.M.*, 79.11b), Dīpa (*N.M.*, 79.51a), Naivedya (*N.M.*, 79.87a) and Vandanā (*N.M.*, 79.100a).

149. *N.M.*, 78.1 :
"Idānīṁ devatānaṁ ca tāsāṁ pūjā kathyate/
Ye cāvaraṇadeśasthāḥ sadā viṣṇośca pārṣadāḥ//"

150. *N.M.*, 78.3 :
"Dāma sudāmastasyā ste vasudāmastathaiva ca/
Kiṁkiṇīdāma eṣovai catvāraḥ saṁsthitāḥ kramāt//"

151. *N.M.*, 78.4a : "Kṛṣṇavarnāḥ samastāste kṛṣṇavat paribhūṣitāḥ/"

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152. *N.M.*, 78.4b : "Kaiśorāvasthayā yuktā veṇukanduka satkarāḥ//"

153. *N.M.*, 78.6-7 :
"Hṛnmantradevatā śukḷā sarvābharaṇa bhūṣitā/
Navayauvanasampannā pāsāṅkuśavarā'bhayān//
Dhārayantī trinetrā ca candrakhaṇḍa vibhūṣitā/
Tatra pūjyā mahīnātha pūrvavat kramataḥ pupān//"

154. *N.M.*, 78.16b-17 :
"Rukmiṇī satyabhāmā ca tvagnijacca sunandakā//
Ataḥ paraṁ mahīpāla mitravindā sulakṣaṇā/
Tato jāmbavatī devī suśīlāṣṭau dalasthitā//"

155. *N.M.*, 78.20d-21 :
"Saṁpūjayedvai vasudevameva////
Tāṁ devakīṁ caiva jagat pavitrām/
Tato'tha nandaṁ ca tathā yaśodām//
Balaṁ subhadrāṁ nṛpate'tha gopān///
Gopīṁśca govindaparāyatākṣīḥ////"

156. *N.M.*, 78.32b : "Pārijātastataḥ kalpadruma ete samantataḥ//"

157. *N.M.*, 78.42-43a :
"Prathaṁ nāradaṁ viddhi parvataṁ tadanantaram/
Uddhavaṁ ca tato'krūraṁ niṣathaṁ dārukaṁ tathā//
Viśvakesanaṁ vainateyaṁ kramādaṣṭau samarccayet/"

158. *N.M.*, 78.43b : "Indraṁ devādhipaṁ vīraṁ gajārūḍhaṁ taḍitprabham//"

159. *N.M.*, 78.79b-81a :
"Sarvatra praṇavaṁ cādau sve sve nāmni sa deśikaḥ//
Namo'ntaṁ ca vidhāyāśu caturthyantaṁ ca pūjayet/
Etānāvaraṇasthāmśca devān devīśca bhūpate//
Jaḷapuṣpākṣataiḥ puṣpairdhūpa dīpāntamarccayet/"

160. *N.M.*, 79.10a : "Tato ghaṇṭāṁ vādayedrāgyaddevārccana karmaṇi/"
N.M., 79.8 :
"Tvāmatra viṣṇoḥ pūjāyaṁ cālayāmi namo'stute/
Vāmamuṣṭyāśca tarjanyāṅgulyagre'pi niveśite//"

161. *N.M.*, 79.25a : "Etattrai vidhakaṁ dhūpaṁ yathāśakti samācaret/"

162. *N.M.*, 79.51 :
"Tathaiva darśayeddīpaṁ viṣṇoragre sa deśikaḥ/
Evaṁ trivāraṁ taṁ dīpaṁ darśayet...../"

163. *N.M.*, 79.62 :
"Bhakṣyaṁ boojyaṁ tathā coṣyaṁ lehyaṁ carvyaṁ tu peyakam/
Ṣaḍbhiretai rasairyuktaṁ divyaṁ naivedya muttamam//"

164. *N.M.*, 79.65b-66a :
"Vāyuvijena naivedyagatadoṣaṁ viśoṣayet//
Agnivījena tenāśu dehettadgata doṣakān/"

165. *N.M.*, 79.70 :
"Dhenukudrāṁ pradarśyātha śikhāmantreṇa deśikaḥ/
Amṛtīkaraṇaṁ kuryā...../"

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166. *N.M.*, 79.71 :
"Oṁ kāroccāraṇe naiva gandhaṁ puṣpaṁ tribhiḥ kṣipet/
Evaṁ tridhā kṣipenmantrī naivedyopari sarvataḥ//"

167. *N.M.*, 79.73b : "Puṣpāñjaliṁ samarpyātha naivedyagata sadrasān//"

168. *N.M.*, 81.2a : "Kumudādiṁ samāvāhya pūjayitvā baliṁ kṣipet/"

169. *N.M.*, 81.13b : "Turīyāṁśaṁ samādāya tasmaicaṇḍaṁ samarpayet//"

170. *N.M.*, 81.17b-18a :
"Taṁ naivedyaṁ na gṛhṇanti keśavādyāḥ śudhāsanāḥ//
Ato yatnena taccaṇḍaṁ dāpayecchuddhamānasaḥ/"

171. *N.M.*, 81.74b : "Mantrahīnaṁ krīyāhīnaṁ bhaktihīnaṁ ca yatkṛtam//"

172. *N.M.*, 81.78a : "Saṁhārayetpratihṛdyaṁ devaṁ saṁhāra mudrayā/"

173. *N.M.*, 81.87 :
"Baliṁ vibhīṣaṇaṁ dadyād bhiṣmaṁ ca kapilaṁ tathā/
Nāradaṁ phālgunaṁ caiva prahlādaṁ ca tataḥ param//"

174. *N.M.*, 81.77b : "Dhyātvā devaṁ cinmayaṁ ca nirmālya tulasīdalaiḥ//"

175. *N.M.*, 84.1a : "Athāhaṁ kathayāmyadya tarpaṇasya vidhiṁ nṛpa/"

176. *N.M.*, 84.2a : "Pūjante deśikaḥ śrīmān devāgre pīṭhasaṁsthitaḥ/"

177. *N.M.*, 84.3b : "Tatracādhāra śaktyādīn pīṭhasaṁsthānta marccayet//"

178. *N.M.*, 84.16 :
"Mārjanaṁ ca namascoktvā mantreṇānena deśikaḥ/
Sarvāṅge mārjayeddevamaṣṭottaraśataṁ nṛpa//"

179. *N.M.*, 84.19 :
"Tarpaṇena vinā bhūpa mārjanaṁ bhojanaṁ vina/
Yadā pūjā ca jāyeta tadāsā niṣphalā bhavet//"

180. *N.M.*, 85.4b-5a :
"Yenaiva balabhadrasya bhadrāyāśca paraṁtapa//
Pūjanaṁ tadahaṁ vakṣye saṁkṣepena sṛṇuṣvame/"

181. *N.M.*, 85.5b-6a :
"Indro yamaśca varuṇaḥ kuveraśca śiva stathā/
Agni sūryaśca marut stvanye ye vibudhottamāḥ//
Dvādaśākṣaramantrasya cintanāttadupāsanāt/"
N.M., 85.12b : "Dvādaśākṣaramantrasya vāsudevasya madhyataḥ//"

182. *N.M.*, 85.13b : "Gāyatrī chanda eva syādvāsudevo'tra devatā//"
N.M., 85.14a : "Praṇavovījamākhyāto yaṁ ca śaktaḥ prakathyate/"

183. *N.M.*, 86.11a-12b :
"Ityeṣā vasudevasya gāyatrī...../
Aṣṭottarastaṁ kuryā...../"
N.M., 86.13 :
"Ataḥparaṁ mūlamantra sahasraṁ vā tadarddhakam/
Athavā triśataṁ kuryādjapamarccaka sattamaḥ//"

184. *N.M.*, 86.14b : "Pīṭhapūjādikaṁ cātha hyāvāhana mataḥ param//"

185. *N.M.*, 86.17b : "Puṣpadānānta mevātra kuryādācāryasattamaḥ//"

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186. *N.M.*, 86.6a : "Bhuvaneśīdevatātra hrīṁ vījam ca tathā smṛtam/"

187. *N.M.*, 90.4a : "Oṁ kāraṁ prathaṁ coktvā...../"

188. *N.M.*, 90.5b-6a :
"Siṁhamantro'yamākhyāto devyāḥ prītikaromahān//
Kuryādāvāhanādiṁ ca devāṅge mātṛkāṁ nyaset/"

189. *N.M.*, 90.6b-7 :
"Kalānyāsaṁ tataḥ kuryāttatvanyāsaṁ tathaiva ca//
Pīṭhanyāsaṁ tataḥ kṛtvā manorṛṣyādi meva ca/
Hṛllekhādinyāsamatho brahmāṇyādiṁ nyaset punaḥ//"

190. *N.M.*, 90.24a :
"Pūjayet parāyā bhaktyā gandhapuṣpākṣatadibhiḥ/"

191. *N.M.*, 90.32b-35a :
"Namodevyai mahādevyai vaiṣṇavyai ca namonamaḥ//
Brahmāṇyai brahmarūpāyai śivāyai satataṁ namaḥ/
Rudrāṇyai rudrarūpāyai kālarātryai namonamaḥ//
Vaiṣṇavai viṣṇurūpāyai mahālakṣmyai namonamaḥ/
Strīrūpiṇyai namaste'stu subhadre tvāṁ ṇamāmyaham//
Sākṣādbrahmasvārūpaṁ tvāṁ jagademve namo'stute/"

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CHAPTER - 7

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION AS DEPICTED IN THE NĪLĀDRI-MAHODAYAM

I

PHILOSOPHY

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* projects the philosophy of Jagannātha-triad in a scattered way. It does not devote any of its chapters specifically for the treatment of the philosophical knowledge. But, in course of the descriptions of the images (Jagannātha, Balabhadra, Subhadrā and Sudarśana), the modes of worship and the festivals of Lord Jagannātha, it touches the various aspects of philosophy such as the concept of *Brahma* and *Atmā*; the attainment of *Mukti* and *Mokṣa*; the treatment of *Avedattva, Vedānta-Vāda, Yogapīṭha, Prāṇāyāma* and finally explains the term *Māyā*. The purāṇa emphasizes on the individual philosophy of the images of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā. Though the images form a triad, they have their own philosophies based on the shape, colour and other relevant characters. Out of the three forms, the third one, i.e., Jagannātha is a synthesis of the first two in a new and distinct form. This form represents the absolute unit of all the three forms together. Therefore, the earlier forms are transcended in the latter, and the latter form not only stands over against the earlier two, but it also becomes inclusive of the other two. Out of the three forms, Balabhadra symbolizes pure knowledge or *Śuddhajñāna*, Subhadrā, the *Karma* or 'Action' and Jagannātha is the symbol of *Prema* or *Bhakti*. The *Karma* follows after *jñāna* and is attended by *Jñāna*. This *Karma* finally culminates in *Prema* or *Bhakti*. This is the reason why in the realization of the form of Jagannātha, it is *Bhakti* or *Prema* which is considered to be the only method of *Sādhanā*. *Jñāna* gives the transcendent, the distant, *Karma* gives the immanent, the near or that which is close to us. But *Bhakti* gives that which is at the same time near and distant, transcendent and immanent, that which is the self and the other than the self. Thus, the image of Lord Jagannātha is the synthesis of the other two forms.

Incompleteness of the Images

The images of all the three deities are seemingly incomplete in form. Some scholars attribute this to undeveloped aboriginal art, while others regard the seeming incompleteness of form as the symbolic manifestation of the inconceivable *Brahma*. Yet some other take the images as complete and thus try to justify the existence of the different limbs in the image of Jagannātha. The images of the three deities, though seem to be as old as an art itself, yet they can stand the test of modern art. Therefore, the images baffle our understanding and subdue our speech when we attempt to analyse the structures. They aptly symbolize the infinite which can be represented by their forms. The shapes of the three deities are by their very nature baffling to ordinary apprehension. So, the forms have remained partly intelligible, partly in-intelligible, partly conceivable and partly inconceivable.

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The Jagannātha-triad is always accompanied with the fourth-deity, called Sudarśana which is a formless form. As has already been mentioned, the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* describes these forms and calls Caturddhā-Mūrti (fourfold-images). The three forms Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā are worshipped as persons while the fourth-one Sudarśana is worshipped as a symbol. In the purāṇa, Sudarśana is the disc which along with the conch shell and the hub is an *āyudha* (weapon). It symbolizes Time and Change, and is connected with the unchangeable, the inscrutable and the eternal as its source. Sudarśana forms the connecting link between the other three forms which can not move and also can not be worshipped without this *āyudha*. During the Ratha Yātrā festival, this Sudarśana form is taken to the chariot first.[1] Sudarśana is placed in the chariot of Subhadrā who is the symbol of the manifest order of the changeable whole.[2] This suggests the fact that Sudarśana is the symbol of Kāḷacakra. He is called Mahāviṣṇu in *Pañcarātra Āgama*. The Pañcaśakhā philosophers of Orissa conceive the idea that he is *Jyoti puruṣa*. Our purāṇa mentions that the shape of Sudarśana is like a pillar (stambharūpī).[3]

Colours of the Deities

Each of the three deities Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā has the specific colour which symbolizes the mysterious character of each one of them. According to the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, the colour of Jagannātha is black, the colour of Balabhadra is white and that of Subhadrā is red.[4] But, in practice Subhadrā is painted in yellow colour which signifies the embodiment of *Prakṛti*. The white colour of Balabhadra represents the synthesis of all the colours, and the black of Jagannātha signifies not only colourlessness, but also the negation of all colours. The colour of Jagannātha suggests the mystery that surrounds the Supreme Lord. The scholars always try to unveil the mystery and consider it from different angles. Corresponding to the *Satva, Rajaḥ* and *Tamaḥ* conception, the colour symbols fixed for each of the deities Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā are described as follows :

The *Sātvik* colour is white, *Rājasa* red or yellow, while *Tāmasa*, as a symbol of darkness, is black.[4A] Therefore, the colour of Balabhadra, who is *Sātvika* character, is white. Though the *Skanda-Purāṇa* describes the colour of Subhadrā as red, she is at present appeared in yellow colour. Finally, Jagannātha as *Tāmasa* character is painted in black. As Balabhadra represents Śiva and Jagannātha is Viṣṇu himself, the *Śukra Nīti* prescribes white colour for the image of Śiva and black for that of Viṣṇu.[4B]

Puruṣottamavāda

The *Saṁhitās* and *Brāhmana* literature reveal the fact that the word puruṣa is normally used in the sense of a person, 'a human being' in general (i.e., denoting both man and woman)[5] whereas when expressively 'a male human being' is meant, the term *puṁs-pumaṁs-pumān* is used.[6]

The most common pair of the words expressing the individual and the cosmic soul in the *Upaniṣads* is *Ātman-Brahman*. But an examination of the older *Upaniṣad*–literature shows that it is not so. Though *Ātman* and *Brahman* are definitely the words which have later (e.g., in the Vedānta philosophy) come to be accepted as the most popular expressions for the

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individual and the cosmic consciousness, yet the - *Upaniṣads* know of still another expression to denote both of these concepts which is statistically more often used. It is the expression puruṣa which is used in almost all the older *Upaniṣads*, sometimes concurrently with *Ātman* - however, in different text pieces - and sometimes even as the sole expression for the concept it stands for. And judging from the fact that the expression *puruṣa* - a person (or man) is much less abstract than the expression *Ātman* meaning 'self', it is plausible to believe that the former is an older and the more archaic expression for this concept.

The word *puruṣa* is used in the following four senses in the *Upaniṣads* :

1. A human being.
2. The individual soul.
3. The presiding deity of some element or the personal God.
4. The impersonal or the abstract cosmic soul (*Brahman*).

Thus, *puruṣa* is a philosophical term which can be used - besides in the usual sense of 'man' or 'person' - in the sense of 'individual soul', 'the highest personal God' and 'the impersonal Absolute'. It is the *Sāṁkhya* philosophy which limits the meaning of this term later in the sense of 'individual soul' characterized by its plurality[7]. Vedānta (monistic) prefers the terms *Ātman* and *Brahman* whereas some other philosophies (*Nyāya, Yoga*, etc.) the terms *Jīva* and *Īśvara*.

Bhagavad *Gītā*[8] says that there are two types of *puruṣa* : the perishable one (i.e., body) and the imperishable one (i.e., individual soul). But since *Bhagavat*, the Lord is beyond both these categories of *puruṣa*, he is known as *Puruṣottama* - the highest *puruṣa* or *Paramātman* - the highest *Ātman*. In the *Vedas*, Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa or *Bhagavat* is known as *Puruṣottama*. This certainly alludes to the *Puruṣa-Sūkta* of the *Ṛgveda*.[9] According to *Skanda-Purāṇa*, one should worship Viṣṇu with the verses of the *Puruṣa-Sūkta*.[10]

The *puruṣa* of the *Ṛgveda* is identified with the *Yajñapuruṣa* Viṣṇu. This identification of the puruṣa of the *Ṛgveda* - out of whose body the whole creation emanates - with Viṣṇu also leads towards the development of the Viśvarūpa of Viṣṇu. In this concept, the universe is totally identified with Viṣṇu, the various phenomena of the universe being considered to be the different parts of the body of the immeasurable Viṣṇu.[11] Sun and moon are his eyes, the earth the feet, the heaven the head, the trees the corporal hair, etc.[12] In the *Mahābhārata*, Kṛṣṇa is said to have shown this form to the courtiers of Duryodhana, Arjuna and Uttaṅka.[13] Therefore, the cosmic giant Viṣṇu is said to be like that of a human being. He is the *Sanātana puruṣa* (eternal being),[14] the highest and the immutable.

The *Śāradātilaka* classifies the Viṣṇuite deities in three broad heads : Viṣṇu, Nṛsiṁha and Puruṣottama and deals with each one of these in a separate Paṭala or chapter (15-17). A closer observation of the contents of these chapters shoes that under the title 'Viṣṇu' (*Viṣṇuprakaraṇam*) the deities Vāsudeva, Dadhivāmana, Hayagrīva, Varāha, Rāma and Hanumat have been dealt with; under the title 'Narasiṁha', however, the deity Nṛsiṁha in his different aspects as well as Sudarśana Cakra find mention and finally under '*Puruṣottama*' the four deities : Trailokyamohana, Śrīkara, Kṛṣṇa and Kāma. In other words, the term 'Viṣṇu'

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represents the Bhāgavata-Vāsudeva aspects, 'Nṛsiṁha' the furious or violent (*Ugra*) aspect and '*Puruṣottama*' the amorous aspect of the same god.

In the Śrīkara (or Śrīdhara) aspect of *Puruṣottama*, he is worshipped as the consort of Lakṣmī, in his Kṛṣṇa aspect as the beloved of Gopīs, in his *Kāma* or *Pradyumna* aspect as the god of Love himself and in his Trailokyamohana, as the god of love and as Viṣṇu, i.e., a combination of *Kāma* and Viṣṇu.[15] *Puruṣottama* thus unites in himself the characteristics of the husband of Lakṣmī, of Kṛṣṇa and of *Kāma*. All of these characteristics are present in the nature of the Puruṣottama - Jagannātha of Puri.

Lord Jagannātha is the *Puruṣottama* of *Gītā*, symbolizing the '*Kṣara puruṣa*' and the '*Akṣara puruṣa*', pervading the heart of all beings. He is regarded as the creator, who can move about without feet. He can see without eyes and hear without ears.[16] The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*[17] describes him as the great *Brahma*, the great universe, the *Nirguṇa puruṣa* and the *Satccidānanda*. He is the sacred, calm, eternal, peaceful and innocent. He is Śiva and Niranjana. He exists in the Vedānta. In the cult of Jagannātha, we discover the impact of diverse systems of Vedāntic philosophy, such as Advaita, Dvaita, Bhedābheda or Dvaitādvaita and Acintya Bhedābheda. It is the concept of *puruṣa* and Advaita (Advitīya)[18] on which the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* bases its philosophy of Jagannātha. In the Vedābheda or Dvaitādvaita Vāda system, all the three deities are different, though ultimately and philosophically they are one. Dvaita School accepts more than one *Tattvas*. But its (three) *Tattvas*, viz., Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā, whether they are different or one, are not perceptible through human knowledge. Here, we see the impact of Acintya Bhedābheda Vāda and the other philosophical thoughts (Vādas) in the mode of worship in Puri and its environs.

The concept of Bheda finds a concrete manifestation, when the Lord is bathed in water, brought by the Śūdras and carried to Ratnavedī by the Brāhmins. The concept of Acintya Bhedābheda is well illustrated at the time of Navakalevara, when the Daitās of Śabara origin are regarded as the kinsmen of Jagannātha and asked to perform the funeral rites, though they are not allowed to worship the God on the throne.[19] Lord Jagannātha belongs to neither the Śabaras nor the Brāhmins nor the Hindus, but is the God of all the beings of the universe and hence, aptly called Jagannātha, the God of the universe.

Brahma Concept

Lord Jagannātha is conceived as Brahma. He is identified with '*Dāru Brahma*'[20] in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*. He is the '*Paraṁ Brahma*' in the form of *Dāru*. He, like the *Brahma* has been described as '*Akṣaya*' and 'Avyaya'.[21] He who prays to him is rewarded.[22] He is the '*Śabda Brahma*' or '*Praṇava*', known as '*Oṁ Kāra*'. The mystical basis of *Upaniṣadic* philosophy and religion lies in '*Praṇava*'. The philosophy of *Brahman* and *Ātman* culminates in the philosophy of *Praṇava*. The *Śabda Brahma* manifests itself in the triad of energies, viz., knowledge (*Jñāna Śakti*), *icchā śakti* and action (*Krīyā Śakti*) along with the three *guṇas* (*Prakṛti*), i.e., *Satva, Rajaḥ* and *Tamaḥ*.[23]

The four images Jagannātha, Balabhadra, Subhadrā and Sudarśana are called *Caturddhā* or *Caturvyuha*, primarily symbolize the *Praṇava* or *Brahma*, who, according to the *Upaniṣads*,

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has four *Mātrās*. For example, in the case of *Ātman*, these four are '*Jāgrata, Swapana, Suṣupti* and *Turīya*'; while those of *Brahman* are '*Vaiśvānara, Taijasa, Prajñā* and *Śāntaṁ*'. Lastly, in the case of *Praṇava*, these four are the four *Mātrās* - A, U, Ma and the *Turīya* (the fourth-one) is the *Jyoti*.[24] Thus, *Praṇava* is identified with *Śabda Brahma* and they are correlated with each other.

Jagannātha is considered as the product of the Vedāntic concept of *Brahma, Śabda Brahma* and *Praṇava* and is therefore regarded as *Dāru Brahma*. The *Vedas* are the outcome of '*Śabda Brahma*', and from the four *Vedas* were produced the four figures of Jagannātha, viz., Balabhadra from the *Ṛg*, Nṛsiṁha-Jagannātha from the *Sāman*, Subhadrā from the *Yajuh*, and Sudarśana from the *Atharva Veda*.[25] *Śabda Brahma* and *Paraṁ Brahma* are regarded as one and the same. The *Paraṁ Brahma* is Advitīya[26] and is present everywhere in the universe. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* mentions that Lord Jagannātha (*Paraṁ Brahma*) himself exists in Nīlācala in His seven-fold-images (*Saptadhā Murttyā*).[27] He is the father of the universe. *Brahma* himself has sprung from his navel. He is likened to fire and is considered as the death of the death.[28]

At the *Laya* (deluge) stage, the *Śabda Brahma* and *Paraṁ Brahma* are one, though in the creation there is found some distinction between the two.[29] Hence, *Praṇava* is '*Apauruṣeya Praṇava*'. *Puruṣottama-Māhātmyam* of *Skanda-Purāṇa* describes that Jagannātha is the product of the '*Apauruṣeya* tree'.[30] The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* describes Lord Jagannātha as Bhagavat.[31] He himself represents Bhagavat. He is Nirākāra, Nirguṇa, Nirvikāra.[32] He is calm, eternal and peaceful. He is Śiva (Maṅgaḷamaya) in the sense of bringing goodness to all. He is Aja and Niranjana. He is sacred, Saccidātmaka and Pūrṇānandamaya. He is the cause of salvation. In the *Saguṇa* sense, he is described as *Brahmaṇarūpa*.[33] One can attain salvation even in one's life time by his grace.[34]

Lord Jagannātha, the Janārdana of Vaikuṇṭha, creates the universe in the form of *Brahmā*, destorys it in the form of *Rudra* and preserves it in the form of Viṣṇu and of the incarnations like the Matsya, Kacchapa,[35] etc. He is the same God who sleeps in the ocean of milk at 'Śveta Dvīpa', and the same for whom the whole universe is like the hair on his body. The Kalpa Tree (Kalpa Vṛkṣa)[36] is the symbol of his sense (*Caitanya*). He has appeared as Jagannātha to preserve the world. The four Vargas are ruled according to his directions. The whole universe is his '*Māyā*'. The moment the knowledge is revealed, the universe mingles in Him.[37]

From *Maṇḍūkya*[38] and *Chāndogya*[39] *Upaniṣads*, it is revealed that the *Brāhman, Ātman, Oṁ* and *Parāvāk* are correlated. Strangely, each has got four *mātrās* or *pādas*. As far as 'Vāk' is concerned, the *pādas* are parā, pasyāntī, madhyamā and vaikhārī.[40] Thus, Balabhadra is regarded as vaikhārī, Subhadrā the connecting link may be madhyamā and Jagannātha the lotus-eyed may be pasyāntī and lastly Sudarśana the parāvāk. The Pañcarātra School interprets them as Virāṭa, Sutrātmā, Antaryāmī and Śudha.[41] There is perfect correspondence between these four and other forms like *Vaiśvānara, Taijase, Prajñā* and *Śānta*; or *Viśva, Taijasa, Prajñā, Turīya* as mentioned earlier. This was advocated by the same Pañcarātra School.[42] In this way, Lord Jagannātha is the *Brahman*, the *Ānandam* and the *Parama Jyoti* as viewed by the Upaniṣadic thoughts.

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Śakti Concept

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* mentions that the *Dāru Brahma* is worshipped along with Balabhadra, Subhadrā, Sudarśana and Pṛthivīramā (Viśvadhātrī).[43] Jagannātha is the incarnation of Viṣṇu, Balarāma is of Śiva, Subhadrā of Brahmā and Sudarśana of the Sun-god.[44] Jagannātha also exists in the form of Nṛsiṁha whereas Balarāma is Śeṣadeva and Subhadrā is Padmarūpa.[45]

The most interesting feature in the myth, however, is Subhadrā's identification with Brahmā, since she is essentially a male character. In this context, the story narrated by *Premabhakti Gītā* is quite remarkable.

The story describes that Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara were three brothers and they were the sons of 'Yogamāyā'. Once Yogamāyā and Rudra were in a sexual union, which was objected to by Viṣṇu and Brahmā. Yogamāyā in turn, got enraged and cursed Viṣṇu to undergo the punishment of births and rebirths for all times to come. She also punished Brahmā with the curse of a female form. Brahmā then acquired this shape and was named as Subhadrā of Jagannātha temple. Subhadrā is thus identified with Brahmā.[46]

Nīlasundara Gītā of Śikhara Dāsa presents the story in a different manner. The author suggests that Brahmā was under Kṛṣṇa's curse as he used to hide the calves of Kṛṣṇa.[47] Sāraḷā Dāsa also subscribes to the view that Brahmā's manifestation in the form of Subhadrā is the result of a curse.[48]

The iconography of Subhadrā corresponds to the usual iconography of a tribal deity which has been Hinduized by being identified with a Śākta goddess and resembles particularly to the iconography of the Hinduized goddess Khambheśvarī, the 'lady of the post'. The iconography of Subhadrā corresponds to her iconological character. Many features in her worship point to the fact that she was originally a Śākta goddess; the most important of these is that she is still worshipped with a Śākta mantra, the mantra of Bhuvaneśvarī.[49]

Subhadrā is not, however, worshipped as Subhadrā alone but as Mahāśakti, Yogamāyā, Viṣṇumāyā. She is also called Kātyāyanī and Bhuvaneśvarī which are names of Durgā.[50] On the other hand there is every probability of a syncretism between the cult of Mother Goddess (Stambheśvarī/Durgā-Bhuvaneśvarī/Lakṣmī-Kamalā) and that of Narasiṁha-Puruṣottama in this region. Such a symbiosis of Durgā and Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa was not limited to Orissa only. The text of the *Gautamīya Kalpa* declares that 'the deity who is Kṛṣṇa, the same is Durgā; the one who is Durgā is also Kṛṣṇa. There is no difference between the two.[51] The presiding deity of the ten-syllabic as well as the eighteen-syllabic Gopāla-mantras used in the worship of Jagannātha is referred to as Durgā. That Durgā is the Śakti of Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa is again described in unmistakable terms in the *Brahma-Saṁhitā*. The verse 44 of the Adhyāya V of this work describes Durgā as the Śakti of Kṛṣṇa who brings forth, sustains and destroys this universe at the command of Kṛṣṇa, acts according to his wish and is, so to say, a shadow of Govinda, the primeval *puruṣa*.

This relationship between Kṛṣṇa and Durgā, Durgā as the Śakti (Nidrā, Yoganidrā, Yogamāyā) of Viṣṇu/Kṛṣṇa who incarnates herself as Ekānaṁśā was clear to the reformers.

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The goddess Ekānaṁśā was, therefore, confounded with Subhadrā, another sister of Kṛṣṇa who played an interesting role in the story of *Mahābhārata* by being abducted by Arjuna. Subhadrā's appellatives like 'Kātyāyanī', 'Durgā' and 'Bhadrakālī' leave no doubt as to the fact that she is not Subhadrā (i.e., the sister of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa who was married to Arjuna), but Ekānaṁśā (i.e., the sister of Kṛṣṇa who, when smashed against a rock, disappeared in the sky) since it is only the latter who could be identified with Durgā and not Subhadrā.

Lord Jagannātha is also considered as the embodiment of both Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.[52] It is noticed that the triad is nothing but the three divisions of Jagannātha, and that there is no difference between Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā.[53] It is logical to say that Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma are one and the same. *Premabhakti Gītā* conceives Jagannātha as '*Kāḷa puruṣa*', Subhadrā as 'Yogamāyā' and Balabhadra as Vedic '*Virāṭa puruṣa*' or *Ananta* or *Śeṣa* signifying the 'Nāga worship'.[54] This is the mysterious, symbolical aspect of Jagannātha. Balarāma Dāsa interprets this symbolical mysticism in a different manner. Noticing the triad in the eye, he suggests that the white part of the eye is Balabhadra, black part is Subhadrā and image inside the eye is Jagannātha.[55] The images are also identified with the tāntric '*Śrīṁ*' (Balabhadra), '*Hrīṁ*' (Subhadrā) and '*Kḷīṁ*' (Jagannātha).[56] They are regarded as potent as the Vaiṣṇava mantras like '*Hare Rāma Hare Kṛṣṇa*'.[57] Divākara Dās has also identified the four letters of Jagannātha with the four images (Caturddhā).[58]

The *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra* is venerated by the Śāktas who accepts this Pīṭha as the great Śākta-Pīṭha of the country. This is because of the mother Goddess, Vimaḷā. The Goddess is being worshipped here as the 'Bhairavī' of Jagannātha who, according to the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, is the 'Bhairava' of the *Kṣetra*.[59]

Kaivalya Darśana

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* highlights on the philosophy of the Mahāprasāda of Lord Jagannātha.[60] The *Dāru Brahma* himself is present in the Kaivalya which is therefore more popular than the deity. As the *Brahma* himself is hidden in it, the Mahāprasāda of Jagannātha is named as '*Annabrahma*'. The presence of the deity is felt if the devotee Possesses a grain of the Prasāda. The *Māhātmya* of Kaivalya is narrated in different *Tantra-texts*, purāṇas and Upa-purāṇas. According to the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* the *Māhātmya* of Kaivalya is unlimited.[61] It is hardly available to the gods also. One, who takes Mahāprasāda, becomes free from all sins and finally attains salvation.[62] This Anna of Jagannātha temple is free from casteism. It is meant for the people of all religions and for all the castes. People of different religions and castes can take Mahāprasāda together. This custom is only prevalent in the *ŚrīKṣetra*. In this respect, *Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa* admits that the people of lower caste, when takes or even touches it, becomes free from all the sins.[63]

Our purāṇa emphasizes on the *Saṁyama* (concentration) aspect of philosophy. It describes that one, who controls the *Indriyas* by the knowledge of *Saṁyama,* achieves the god.[64] So, concentration in the meditation is the way to the god.

In the *Sāṁkhya* system, we come across the concepts of *Śuddha puruṣa* and *Śuddhā prakṛti*. In Jagannātha, however, the same get transformed into absolute *puruṣa*, which essentially is

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the dualism of *puruṣa* and *prakṛti*. According to P. Chakravarty, "The position of *puruṣa* is not only transcended but also the position of *Yoga* which conceives the Lord or Īśvara as a *puruṣa Viśeṣa*, i.e., as superior *puruṣa* is excelled."[65] This, so to say, brings into Jagannātha the concept of 'Advaitism'. He is essentially one and also the Trinity, which is nothing but the three aspects of his form. He is at once one and he is many.

II

RELIGION

The Major Religions of Orissa

In the pre-Christian period Jainism was the most important non-indigenous religion in Orissa. Although it lost royal support in the 1st century A.D., after the downfall of the Mahāmeghavāhana dynasty, its roots in the population were deep and in Kaliṅga it retained its dominant position upto the end of the 7th century. The Jain community continued to be respected throughout coastal Orissa and to get support down to the 12th century. It ceased to have any importance in the 16th century but was revived again about 1800 when Jain merchants settled in Cuttack.

Buddhism, after an unsuccessful attempt in the time of Aśoka, started to gain ground in Orissa from the 1st century A.D., onwards. It was flourishing about 641 A.D., when Hiuen Tsang visited the country.[66] In its Vajrayāna form it reached the height of prosperity under the Bhauma-Kara rulers in the 8th-10th centuries. Thereafter, Buddhism gradually declined, but not as quickly as in other parts of India. The last ruler known to have supported Buddhist religious establishments was Gajapati Mukundadeva in the 16th century, and even thereafter the Buddhist community was never completely extinguished.

Śaivism is traceable from the 4th-5th century onwards. In the post-Gupta period it became the strongest Hindu Sectarian movement in Orissa. It was the dominating religion in central Orissa from the 6th century onwards. The province became a stronghold of Śaivism in the seventh century A.D., due to the efforts of Śaśāṅka and the Śailodbhavas. Both Mattamayūra and Pāśupata sects seem to have prevailed in Orissa during this period. The sculptural evidence points out the prevalence of the Pāśupata sect, whereas the inscriptional evidence indicate that of the Mattamayūra sect. We come across the Lakuḷīśa images in the Parśurāmeśvara temple, assigned to the seventh century A.D. D. Mitra[67] has rightly observed that the Pāśupata sect prevailed in Orissa in the seventh century A.D. The Śailodbhavas were, however, followers of the Mattamayūra sect. The symbols of this sect, are matted hair, celestial river, garland of skulls, digits of moon, Pārvatī, etc.[68] The Śailodbhavas, as known from the preamble of their characters,[69] meditated upon these symbols.

Śaivism, however, suffered a set-back in Orissa in the eighth century A.D., because of the patronage of the early Bhauma-Karas to Buddhism. But the Śaivite activities did not completely disappear from Orissa, as Śaivism obtained support from some members of the Bhauma royal family.

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According to P. Mukherji, Śaṅkarācārya, who came to Puri in the ninth century A.D., was responsible for the introduction of the Śaivite form of worship in the Jagannātha temple.[70] His teachings "undoubtedly stimulated the growth of Śaivism",[71] and might have exercised tremendous influence on the later Bhauma rulers, who embraced Śaivism. So, in the ninth century A.D., this faith acquired a paramount position in Orissa.

Śaivism reached the peak of its glory during the Somavaṁśī rule in the 10th and 11th centuries. Although it experienced a serious setback when the Jagannātha temple was built in the 12th century and the Gaṅga Kings fully turned towards Viṣṇuism in the early 13th century, it remained the religion of the majority of the people of Orissa down to the 17th century.

Śāktism was closely related to Śaivism, although its traces may reach back to an even more distant past. Its extremely powerful hold on the population has continued to the present day and female deities worshipped by the lower strata of society continue to be subject to a process of Hinduization. None of the other religions could establish themselves firmly in this region without coming to terms with Śāktism. The adherents of Śaivism and Buddhism did so at an early date, but also Viṣṇuism and Jainism could not resist this process. The period when the Śāktas gained their greatest influence and were most generously supported by the rulers of Orissa extended from the 8th to the 11th centuries. They later witnessed an important revival in the 16th century.

Viṣṇuism was by far the latest major Indian religion to reach central Orissa, the area where today Jagannātha dominates the religious scene. Nowhere in the whole region of Orissa and Kaliṅga is Viṣṇuism traceable prior to the Gupta period. It advanced towards Orissa from the south and from the west. But its progress was slow and came to a stop outside the borders of Orissa in the post-Gupta period, when Śaivism and Śāktism rose to a prominent position. However, in the Gupta age it had obtained the paramount position in Orissa. Under the patronage of the Bhaumas, who claimed descent from Viṣṇu,[72] Vaiṣṇavism became a force in the religious life of Orissa. But it could not attain its highest glory during the Bhauma-Kara period.

Due to the influence of different religions in Orissa Lord Jagannātha is conceived as a god of the Vaiṣṇavites, Śaivites and Śāktas. The cult of Jagannātha even embraces the religions like the Buddhism and Jainism. It is precisely of this reason that the *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra* became, in the course of time, a religious centre for the adherents of all these sects.

Pañcadevatā

The worship of the 'Pañcadevatā' among the Hindus is widely prevalent here at *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra*. Jagannātha himself, in fact, is the Pañcadevatā, i.e., Nārāyaṇa, Rudra, Gaṇeśa, Sūrya and Durgā. He is Nārāyaṇa on the Ratna Siṁhāsana; Rudra during Navakalevara and Gaṇeśa[73] during Snāna Yātrā. While he is conceived as the Sun God during the car festival, he is taken for Durgā at the time of 'Śayanotsava'. Therefore, Jagannātha is the synthesis of the deities of different sects and the cult sets forth a unique religious concept.[74]

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Viṣṇuite Deity

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* conceives Lord Jagannātha principally as a Viṣṇuite deity. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the Lord assumes ten incarnations, viz., Matsya, Kacchapa, Varāha, Vāmana, Nṛsiṁha, Paraśurāma, Rāma (Dāśarathī), Balarāma, Buddha and Kalkī. The purāṇa describes Jagannātha as Keśava, Vāsudeva and Nārāyaṇa.[75] It speaks of Indradyumna as a Vaiṣṇava.[76] It thus lends great importance to the Vaiṣṇavism, Vidyāpati, the priest of King Indradyumna is described as a staunch follower of Vaiṣṇavism. He being sent by Indradyumna had discovered Nīlamādhava which was being worshipped in a cave by the great Śabara Viśvāvasu. He was very happy in visiting Mādhava there.[77]

The Vaiṣṇavas believe in God.[78] They are the devotees of 'Viṣṇu' and the *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra* is the abode of Viṣṇu-Jagannātha.[79] The purāṇa, in its textual analysis, has clearly pinpointed on the fact that Jagannātha is primarily Viṣṇu, the Nīlamādhava.[80] He is described as 'Garuḍa Dhvaja'. He uses the bird Garuḍa[81] as his carrier and moves about the world with its help. The images of Viṣṇu and Garuḍa are commonly noticeable in the temple of Jagannātha and which strongly recommends the Viṣṇu-version of the deity.

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* considers Jagannātha as identical with Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva.[82] Accordingly, Balabhadra is described here as Balarāma Śaṁkarṣaṇa, the elder brother of Kṛṣṇa,[83] while Subhadrā, as represented in the *Mahābhārata*, is their sister. Balabhadra's weapons are a Haḷa (plough) and a Muṣaḷa, which are the same as those of Balarāma.[84] There are a lot of references in our purāṇa which identifies Jagannātha as Kṛṣṇa.[85] He is described as the same Hari who was in love with Rukmiṇī and Satyabhāmā.[86] He is the Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa who was the lover of Gopīs,[87] the females of Gopa. While describing the modes of worship of the deity, the purāṇa mentions three types of dhyānas - Prātaḥ, Madhyāhna and Sāyāhna. In the morning worship, the god is thought of as a child in Vṛndāvana[88] and in the mid-day worship, he is described as a youth having the most handsome figure like one-crore Kandarpa.[89] In the evening worship, the marvellous deeds of the god in Dvārakā are narrated.[90] He killed the enemy 'Kaṁsa' there.

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* also compares the Lord with the play-boy of Vṛndāvana. He very often played with the Gopīs and the other inhabitants of Braja.[91] Therefore, he is called Brajavihārī and the place is named as Brajapura. Lord Jagannātha is the Nārāyaṇa who holds Śaṁkha (conch), Cakra (wheel) and the Gadā (club).[92] Therefore, the image of Nārāyaṇa is placed in front of the deity after the morning worship on the day of Amāvasyā.[93]

This purāṇa, while narrating Ratha Yātrā (the car festival),[94] depicts Jagannātha as Kṛṣṇa. Jagannātha is conceived here not only as the Kṛṣṇa of Dvāpara age but also the Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa who is the husband of Lakṣmī.[95] He is the Viṣṇu who destroys the sins and the misdeeds from the world.[96]

Rādhā Concept in the Cult of Jagannātha

In the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* we do not find any trace of Rādhā associated with Kṛṣṇa. Evidently, the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa worship was not so much popular in Orissa during the time of

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this purāṇa. It was only after several centuries that Rādhā became popular in Orissa and Jagannātha came to be regarded as the embodiment of the Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa pair.[97] This widely came to force during Caitanya's movement in the state. He came to Puri in the 16th century and immediately after his arrival visited Jagannātha.[98] Caitanya considered Jagannātha to be Kṛṣṇa himself. Whenever he saw the image of Jagannātha, he imagined the deity to be Kṛṣṇa in his majestic splendour at Kurukṣetra. Even when he saw Jagannātha for the first time on the chariot, he recited a verse expressing the feelings of Rādhā and the Gopīs (milk-maids of Vṛndāvana) when they met Kṛṣṇa at Kurukṣetra. This feeling of Caitanya at the sight of Jagannātha is similar to that of Rādhā when she met Kṛṣṇa at Kurukṣetra. In the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*, Caitanya is therefore depicted as imbuded with the feeling (bhāva) of Rādhā, pining for Kṛṣṇa.

Under the influence of Caitanya, the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa Cult was exalted by the contemporary writers. Acyutānanda and his associates wrote poems on 'Rāsa' or the Sport of Kṛṣṇa with Rādhā and the Gopīs. The *Rāsa-Krīḍā* of Jagannātha Dāsa, the *Nitya Rāsa* of Acyutānanda, the *Tūla Śūnya Rāsa* of Ananta may be cited in this connection. In the *Śūnya-Saṁhitā*, Kṛṣṇa of Dvārakā and his consorts unsuccessfully tried to reach the eternal abode of 'Rāsa'. Yaśovanta Dāsa in his *Prema Bhakti Gītā*, praises the mode of devotion by imitating the Gopīs.[99]

Jagannātha's identity with Kṛṣṇa was made popular by Caitanya. During the Herā Pañcamī festival it is believed that Jagannātha-Kṛṣṇa longs for Vṛndāvana. From the analysis of the rites of Jagannātha as depicted in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, it is seen that he has become a Viṣṇuite deity.

The *Jagannāthāmṛta Gītā* suggests that ŚrīKṛṣṇa in Nīlakandara faces the west and Rādhā faces the east. The two thus get merged into each other and seem transformed into the one figure of Jagannātha.[100] This conception was later developed to such an extent that Jagannātha came to be known as *Paraṁ Brahma*, the embodiment of Kṛṣṇa, Lakṣmī and Rādhā, and that the three (Kṛṣṇa, Lakṣmī and Rādhā) in turn mingle in him at the time of the universal deluge (Laya).[101] *Jagannātha-Caritāmṛtam*, therefore, says, "Rādhā stays in the heart of Jagannātha and so does ŚrīKṛṣṇa."[102] The other goddesses here are conceived as 'Gopīs'. Vimaḷā and Lalitā and the Kalpa tree take the role of 'Rāsa Kuñja'.[103] *Hari Bhakti Viḷāsa* also mentions the Rādhā-worship in the context of the rituals performed for the 'Navakalevara' of the triad.[104]

Kṛṣṇa-Jagannātha

Long before the time of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, there existed the idea of Jagannātha as Kṛṣṇa. In fact this tradition was prevailed even before the *Puruṣottama-Māhātmyam* of the *Skanda-Purāṇa*. The *Brahma-Purāṇa* speaks of five deities (pañcadevatā), viz., the Vaṭa, Baladeva, Kṛṣṇa, Subhadrā and Nṛsiṁha.[105] This purāṇa identifies Jagannātha with Kṛṣṇa.[106] The views of the *Brahma-Purāṇa* and the *Skanda-Purāṇa* are identical. *Padma-Purāṇa* also supports this concept suggesting that Kṛṣṇa, Dāmodara and Jagannātha are the three names identical with one another.[107] This purāṇa refers to Kṛṣṇa as Jagannātha in the textual analysis of Kṛṣṇa Tīrtha.[108]

In the age of *Upaniṣads*, Kṛṣṇa was considered as a great reformer of the Vedic way of

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life.[109] *Chāndogyopaniṣad*[110] speaks that he is the son of Devakī. In the age of *Mahābhārata*, he was considered as a believer of the *Vedas* and the sacrifices. In the *Bhagavad Gītā*, he is regarded as Puruṣottama[111] and thus there is no difference between Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa and Jagannātha.

During the time of *Mahābhārata*, there existed a place in Kaliṅga which was called Mahāvedī. The Pāṇḍavas visited this place for its sacredness.[112] The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* also refers to Jagannātha on the Mahāvedī[113] of Śrīmandira which in turn suggests that the Mahāvedī visited by the Pāṇḍavas is the same Mahāvedī where Lord Jagannātha sits now.

As suggested by Dr. H.K. Mahatab the worship of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva gradually lost itself in the worship of Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa which ultimately culminated in that of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa. In the *Mahābhārata* of Sāraḷā Dāsa, we find references to the love of Kṛṣṇa for the Gopīs. The *Gītagovindam* of Jayadeva mentions Jagannātha (or Jagadīśa) as Kṛṣṇa.[114] Both Kṛṣṇa and Jagannātha take incarnations and hence they are considered as the same deity. But the devotees of Kṛṣṇa believe that Kṛṣṇa is the supreme Vaiṣṇavite deity who has ten incarnations, and that Jagannātha is a part (*Aṁśa*) of His. The Orissan Vaiṣṇavas, on the other hand, regard Jagannātha as the supreme deity and believed that Kṛṣṇa is just a sixteenth part of Jagannātha.[115]

From the standpoint of modes of worship of Jagannātha, if we will consider them Jagannātha can not be distinguished from Kṛṣṇa. There are six different mantras for the worship of Kṛṣṇa (containing 6, 8, 10, 16, 18 and 32 syllables respectively) of which two, the ten-syllabic and the eighteen-syllabic ones, are the most common and most popular. Both of these mantras contain the expression '*Gopījanavallabha*' for Kṛṣṇa and the eighteen-syllabic even uses the 'Vīja' of Kāma (*Klīṁ*) in the beginning. The *Kramadīpikā* - an authority on the Kṛṣṇa worship - quoted in the *Gopālārcana Vidhiḥ* of Puruṣottamadeva explicitly refers to the Vījamantra of Kṛṣṇa-Jagannātha as being a 'Pradyumnamantra' (a mantra of Padyumna or Kāma) and designates it as Jagamohana - bewitching the world.[116]

Lord Jagannātha is worshipped with the same Yantra prescribed for the worship of Puruṣottama-Kṛṣṇa. As pointed out by Dr. G.C. Tripathy, the two Yantras consist of a sexagon in the centre which is surrounded by a lotus. But the Yantra of Jagannātha consists of eight-petalled lotus whereas the Yantra used for the worship of Puruṣottama-Kṛṣṇa consists of a ten-petalled lotus.

It thus seems that, at some stage, both Kṛṣṇa-Cult and Puruṣottama-Cult were simultaneously developing, and that the devotees of both Kṛṣṇa and Puruṣottama came to regard their respective deities as the incarnation of Viṣṇu. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* describes that Lord Jagannātha is the same Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and Nṛsiṁha.[117]

Nṛsiṁha in the Cult of Jagannātha

The strong influence of the Tāntric ideas, however, led Viṣṇuism to develop the concept of Narasiṁha - originally only an incarnation of Viṣṇu - to an independent and important deity with furious character who destroys the evils and the dangers befalling his worshipper and

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grants him immediately wordly benefits. Nṛsiṁha, in other words, is a Viṣṇuite version of the Tāntric practice of the worship of the furious deities.

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* repeatedly describes the Nṛsiṁha version of Lord Jagannātha.[118] It speaks that Jagannātha is worshipped here at Nīlācala as Nṛsiṁha who kills the demons (Daityas)[119] and destroys the evils and the dangers.[120] The mother-goddess Padmā (Lakṣmī) is situated in the lap of Nṛsiṁha (Lord Jagannātha).[121] The *Puruṣottama-Māhātmyam* of the *Brahma-Purāṇa*,[122] after it has described the glory of Jagannātha, proceeds to narrate the importance of the deity Nṛsiṁha, situated by the side of Guṇḍīcā and gives details, in this context, of the material benefit which one can obtain by worshipping this *ugra* deity.

In Orissa, the tribal people worship the goddess Khambheśvarī which is a wooden post in general. The relation between Narasiṁha and the wooden post has been elaborated in Oriya folk religion. In inconography, Narasiṁha is associated with the wooden post commonly representing tribal deities of Orissa.

The iconological analysis also supplies sufficient evidences to identify Narasiṁha with Jagannātha. We will discuss here the peculiarities of the Jagannātha figure which resembles to the characters of Narasiṁha. The round eyes are a typical features of Narasiṁha. His eyes are big and round because of his fury (*Krodha*). And the curious shape of Jagannātha's head would no more seem curious if taken not for an attempt to reproduce a human head, but an animal's, a lion head, where the emphasis is on the lower parts, the Jaws. The difference is very well explained in the early Narasiṁha panel where the archaic figure of the lion with its rounded face stands amongst human figures with oval faces. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* mentions the Narasiṁha version of Lord Jagannātha by describing the most popular mythological event of tearing up the demon, Hiranyakaśipu.[123] As widely worshipped in western Orissa, the pillar in the palace of Hiranyakaśipu out of which Narasiṁha appeared, has been turned into a wooden post.

Narasiṁha is the guardian deity of the temple and all the performances beginning from cooking to pūjā are preceded by offerings to Narasiṁha first. Prof. K.C. Mishra suggests that Narasiṁha is the emblem of *Brahma* as pronounced in the *Nṛsiṁha Tāpini Upaniṣad. Brahma* is the interminate Being of whom Jagannātha is the Determinate form.[124] During the period of Aṇavasara when Jagannātha can not be seen because of 'illness', the main worship is offered to Narasiṁha and the prescribed meditations are focused on him. According to K.C. Rajguru,[125] the Jagannātha figures are represented during this time by the following 'movable images'.

Jagannātha	:	Madanamohana
Subhadrā	:	Bhūdevī
Balabhadra	:	Govinda
Sudarśana	:	Narasiṁha

Khambha Narasiṁha, an image of Lakṣmī-Narasiṁha on the first pillar of the Jagamohana when entering from the south, is the Iṣṭa-devatā of the Brāhmin priests.

The analysis of the Navakalevara ritual shows that the *Dārus* assume the shapes of the four Jagannātha deities by the use of Narasiṁha-Mantrarāja. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* mentions

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that Lord Jagannātha is worshipped in the Narasiṁha-Mantrarāja[126] which, according to Brahmā's advice to Indradyumna, is the most effective mantra.[127]

Thus Jagannātha was as well as Kṛṣṇa. The testimony of the ceremony of Navakalevara, especially the rites of fire sacrifice and the consecration of the images, point unmistakably to this fact. The deity worshipped as Narasiṁha and Kṛṣṇa was known as Puruṣottama during the time of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*. And indeed the concept of Puruṣottama constitutes a link between the iconological character of the two deities. Both Narasiṁha and Puruṣottama are two Viṣṇuite deities endowed with Tāntric-Śāktic characteristics.

Śaiva Component

Orissa became a stronghold of Śaivism in the seventh century A.D., due to the efforts of Śaśāṅka and the Śailodbhavas. Both Mattamayūra and Pāśupata sects seem to have prevailed in Orissa during this period as already mentioned. Śaṅkarācārya in the 9th century A.D., preached Hari-Hara worship in Orissa and the images of both Jagannātha and Balabhadra in the Jagannātha temple are taken for those of Hari-Hara.[127A]

The conflict raised between Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism was solved by the Hari-Hara worship which actually brought a comprise between the two isms. *Brahma-Purāṇa* states that the *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra* was primarily a Vaiṣṇava Kṣetra. But then to appease the Śaivites, Mārkaṇḍeya requested the divine child lying on the Banyan leaf to establish a temple of Śiva in this Kṣetra, Puruṣottama granted his request.[128] Puruṣottama says, "There is no difference between Śiva and Viṣṇu. They are one like sky and air.[129] It was this concept that Hari-Hara worship set forth at Puri. Therefore, Śaṅkarācārya, though a Śaivite, composed ślokas like '*Bhaja Govindaṁ Govindaṁ Smara Govindaṁ bhaja muḍhamate*'.[130] This is clearly an attempt to venerate Viṣṇu.

The Śaiva School of Thought conceives Jagannātha as Śiva, the determinate form of creative principle.[131] It is this concept that accounts for the 'Pañca Mahādeva worship' at Puri. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* does not accept Jagannātha as the incarnation of Śiva. But it mentions Jagannātha as Bhairava[132] and includes 'Uttara-Bhairava dhyāna' for the worship of the deity.[133] In fact, Śiva was worshipped as Bhairava. This fierce aspect of Śiva appears on many early temples throughout coastal Orissa. At least, since the early Bhauma-Kara period he is shown in the peculiar form of Ekapāda Bhairava, the 'Bhairava with one foot'. Ekapāda Bhairava is a Tāntric deity. Associations reflected in Tāntric literature connect him with the Vedic Aja Ekapāda, with fire, with sacrifice, with the central pillar of the world and, lastly, with the Yoginīs. He is the Supreme Lord.

H.V. Stietencron advocates that the sculptural representations of Ekapāda Bhairava show a striking similarity with the Jagannātha image.[134] The earliest extant representations of Jagannātha is located at Koṇārka temple. Like Narasiṁha, he possesses the round eyes expressive of the *ugra* aspect of the deity. But unlike Narasiṁha, he is really a post (*sthāṇu*) with one foot only rooted in the earth, one leg only rising from the ground. The leg gradually increases in width to merge with the trunk of the deity. The peculiar shape of Ekapāda Bhairava is also present in the early Jagannātha images. The Urdhvaliṅgam and the tiger-skin are the

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two signs on the body of Ekapāda Bhairava. Such signs characterize him as a manifestation of Śiva. H.V. Stietencron argues that both of these signs were discarded at a later period when the cult of Jagannātha was appropriated by the Vaiṣṇavas.

The iconographical correspondence as well as the literary evidence confirms that at one stage Jagannātha was identified with Bhairava. In the different Tāntric texts of India, Jagannātha is mentioned as Bhairava and Vimaḷā as his Śakti is the Bhairavī.[135] Puri is known as Bhairavī Kṣetra. One of the texts in which this evidence occurs is the *Rudrayāmala Tantra*.[136]

For some time the wooden God must have been worshipped by Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas alike. He was probably considered as Bhairava by the Śaiva community and as Narasiṁha by the Vaiṣṇava community. Though the latter gradually predominated over the former, the Śaiva tradition could not be totally wiped out. It is likely that two gods of the same shape were simply juxtaposed : Śiva Bhairava in his Ekapāda form and Narasiṁha Puruṣottama. In the later *Pañcarātra* interpretation, they became the brothers Balabhadra and Jagannātha. Balabhadra, also known as Śaṁkaraṣaṇa, is indeed considered as representing Śiva already in the early Vaiṣṇava literature. In the *Utkala-Khaṇḍa* of *Skanda-Purāṇa*, he is praised as Śiva's world - destroying fire (Kālāgnirudra) and as Mahārudra, i.e., Śiva.[137] The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* mentions the Śeṣarūpa[138] of Balabhadra who carries snake-hood and there is a change in the form of his eyes. This accounts for the iconographical change occurred in the image of Śiva. Besides, the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* depicts that the colour of Balabhadra is just like Kunda-flower (a kind of Jasmine, white and delicate) or the moon or the conch or the milk of the cow or like the colour of Sudhā (Amṛta).[139] This white colour represents the Śānta aspect of Śiva.

The third image of the Puri-triad, the image of Subhadrā has been identified with the wife of Śiva. This is because she stands at the left side of Balabhadra (Śiva) and represents his Śakti. And till today she is considered as Durgā Bhuvaneśvarī with whose mantra she is worshipped. In the *Pañcarātra* re-interpretation she was renamed as Subhadrā and officially considered as the sister of Balabhadra and Jagannātha.

Scholars like Dr. Mayadhar Mansingh and others do believe that Jagannātha Nīlamādhava was primarily a Śivaliṅga.[140] Though the stone (Liṅga) worship gradually took the shape of image worship and in the third phase it was changed to the worship of wooden images, we have no meticulous evidences to show that Liṅga did necessarily Nīlamādhava.

It is obvious from the excavations of Mohenjodāro and Harappā that the Śiva-worship prevailed much earlier than the image-worship. It had also importance in the Rāmāyaṇic age as Lord Rāmacandra himself was a worshipper of Śiva.[141] Pargiter, citing the *Rāmāyaṇa*, states that south India, like the North, was also the dwelling place of the Bhairava worshippers.[142] As viewed by Dr. D. Sastri, Kṛṣṇa in the age of *Mahābhārata*, was also the worshipper of Mahādeva (Śiva).[143]

Śiva was conceived as the destroyer of sacrifice (Dakṣa Yajña) and consequently an anti-Vedic deity. Dr. G.N. Mahapatra opines that the above conception of Śiva resulted perhaps from the conflict between the Vedic Brāhmins and the Vrātyas.[144] The people of Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga and Magadha region of the Eastern India were known as Vrātyas, who were the worshipper of Śiva. The *Atharva Veda – Paipalāda Śākhā* belonged to these Vrātya Brāhmins.[145]

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After the assimilation of the Āryans of North India and the Vrātyas, the Viṣṇu-worship and the Śiva Cult began to grow simultaneously in Eastern India, and the *Atharva Veda* came to be included in the list of the *Vedas*. Further, the Vrātya Brāhmins acquired the exalted position of *Brahma* in the performance of sacrifice and 'Vrātya Stoma' came to occupy an important place in the listed sacrifices.[146] Evidently, the Śiva-worship prevailed in the Eastern India anterior to Viṣṇu-worship. In the Utkal region of Eastern India, we also mark that 'Liṅgarāja' of Bhuvaneśvara was regarded as the presiding deity of the Śaivas when the Āryan-Vrātyas assimilated there.

Vāsudeva-Jagannātha

The history of Orissa draws a parallel between Orissa and the Eastern India with regard to the popularity of both Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism in Orissa. In the Upaniṣadic Age, Kṛṣṇa was described as the son of Vasudeva and Devakī. He accordingly became Vāsudeva.[147] It is thus seen that the Bhāgavatism is too old an ism not only in India but also in Orissa. It made its way in Orissa in the 2nd century B.C., and existed in the times of Pāṇini (5th century B.C.) and also during the Upaniṣadic period (6th century B.C.). The Śaṁkarṣaṇa-Vāsudeva worship was popular in the times of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* which refers to Jagannātha as Vāsudeva.[149] While describing, the modes of worship of the deities of Jagannātha temple, the purāṇa mentions that Baladeva (Balabhadra) is worshipped by Vāsudeva-mantra.[150] The twelve syllabled mantra - '*Oṁ namo bhagavate vāsudevāya*' is used in the worship of Balabhadra. Here Balabhadra is conceived as Vāsudeva.[151]

Since Jagannātha is primarily known as Vāsudeva of Kṛṣṇa, Balabhadra was conceived as Balarāma, Kṛṣṇa's elder brother. Kṛṣṇa-worship in this form was prevalent in the temple during the time of the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*. This purāṇa again mentions that Lord Jagannātha is Viṣṇu.[152] He is Kamalākānta or the husband of Lakṣmī.[153] Hence, Jagannātha is no other than a Viṣṇuite deity which is also evidenced by the presence of a 'Garuḍa' in his front.

Though Jagannātha is Narasiṁha-Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu, till his cult could not be escaped from the influence of Śāktism and other major religious movements like Buddhism, Jainism and Nāthism which penetrated into the Orissan culture from time to time.

Śāktism

The Cult of Mother Goddess has existed in India since time immemorial. It has been, and to a great extent still is, a part of the autochthonous religious belief and originally neither associated with Śiva nor with Viṣṇu. In the course of their development, however, both Śiva-ism and Viṣṇu-ism tried to incorporate it into their framework. The association of the Mother-Goddess with Rudra-Śiva is no doubt older. We find an Ambikā (mother) associated with Rudra as his sister already in the *Vāj.S.* of white Yajurveda.[154] The same *Saṁhitā* mentions Ambā, Ambikā and Ambālikā (all meaning 'mother') as well as 'Subhadrikā' having her seat in Kāmpīla. The *Kena-Upaniṣad* speaks of Umā-Haimavatī who is known as the daughter of Himālaya. This Ambikā/Umā later gets united with Śiva as his wife.

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But just as the Śaivites appropriated the Mother Goddess as the wife of Śiva, the Vaiṣṇavas/Bhāgavatas also endeavoured to incorporate the Mother into their cult and to associate her with Kṛṣṇa/Viṣṇu. The most successful and effective attempt in this direction was made in the centuries preceding the Christian era when the Kṛṣṇa legend took its final shape. Thus we find in the *Harivaṁśa* (around 1st c.) the daughter of Yaśodā against whom Kṛṣṇa is exchanged, described as the Nidrā of Viṣṇu.[155] The same purāṇa speaks her as Vindhyavāsinī, the goddess living in Vindhya region.[156]

An important role to bring Viṣṇuism and Śāktism together has been played by the *Devīmāhātmya* of *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa*, a text which originated in about 5th century A.D., and is even to this day regarded as the most important text of the Śāktas. Its influence on the adherents of the cult of Mother Goddess is inestimable. In the very beginning of this text the Mother Goddess has been described as Bhagavatī and the Nidrā of Viṣṇu[157] as well as Mahāmāyā.[158] She is the primeval source of the universe which contains in herself everything existing and non-existing.[159] She creates the world out of herself, retains it and destroys it. She lives in the lotus-eyes of Viṣṇu (as Viṣṇu-Nidrā, the sleep of Viṣṇu) but also in his mouth, nose, arms, chest and the heart[160] and makes him asleep at the time of the dissolution of the world after he has discharged his cosmic duties as an agent of her, the primeval force. In the Verses XI.8-23, she has repeatedly been addressed as 'Nārāyaṇī' (= belonging to Nārāyaṇa/Viṣṇu) in a refrain (*Nārāyaṇī namo'stu te*) occurring at the end of every verse.

The story of the Nidrā of Viṣṇu - named Ekānaṁśā in the *Harivaṁśa* - is found almost in an unchanged form in the purāṇas of Viṣṇu (5th c.) and *Bhāgavata* (9th-10th c.). The association of the Mother Goddess with Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma in the 1st c. A.D., is also attested by a relief of the Kuṣāṇa period found in Mathura and now preserved in Karachi Museum in which this Ekānaṁśā, Nidrā of Viṣṇu or the Yogamāyā is depicted as standing in the middle with Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma on either sides.[161] We have three more representations of this trinity (Ekānaṁśā, Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa) : in the rock temple of Ellorā (7th c.)[162] and on two stone penals found in Etah (U.P.) and Imadpur (Bihar) respectively, both belonging to the 11th-12th centuries.[163]

In the temple of Jagannātha, the Goddess Subhadrā represents Ekānaṁśā. She is another sister of Kṛṣṇa, more precisely of Balarāma. According to *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, she is the *Prakṛti*.[164] In the *Prakṛti* and *puruṣa* concept, Śakti is the *Prakṛti*.[165] Hence, Śakti is conceived as the power that permeates through the entire universe. She is the Mahādevī. The Śakti exists in the forms, such as Sarasvatī, Lakṣmī, Gāyatrī, Durgā, Tripura Sundarī and Annapūrṇā, besides all other Devīs, considered as the Avatāras of *Brahman*.[166] Our purāṇa mentions Subhadrā as Brahmarūpā.[167] She is depicted as Brahmāṇī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī, Indrāṇī, Cāmuṇḍā and Mahālakṣmī.[168]

In the Śākta concept, the Śaktis of Śiva are sometimes accepted as the Śaktis of Viṣṇu and vice-versa. Subhadrā, the substitute of Lakṣmī, the Śakti of Jagannātha (Viṣṇu), while was conceived as Bhadrakāḷī in the *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra-Māhātmyam*,[169] she was conceived as Bhuvaneśvarī in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*.[170] After the assimilation of the Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava and the Śākta faiths, *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra* began to attract adherents of all these creeds, while

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Balabhadra, Jagannātha and Subhadrā respectively came to be conceived as Maheśa, Viṣṇu and Brahmā.[171] Subhadrā, being the Śakti of Viṣṇu, is the Brahmarūpā.

The most important Śākta deity of Jagannātha temple is the Vimaḷā. She is a very old deity. Her image existed in the temple even before the composition of *Matsya-Purāṇa.*[172] According to Dr. Mahatab, the present temple of Vimaḷā was built sometime between 740-940 A.D., during the reign of the Kara Kings,[173] even though the goddess was known to people much before that time.

The Tāntric mode of worship, like that of the Vedic, has also prevailed in the temple of Jagannātha. The Śākta Tāntrists, while conceiving Jagannātha as 'Bhairava', conceive 'Vimaḷā' as Bhairavī.[174] When Jagannātha offers rice to Vimaḷā, his oblation becomes 'Mahāprasāda'.

Thus, under Vimaḷā's influence, the temple of Jagannātha came to be considered as a Śākta centre. However, to make the 'Tantras' complete and self-sufficient, the Tāntric counterpart of Vedic rituals were added to the Tantra rites in course of time.[175] With this assimilation of the Vedic and Tāntric rituals, the Veḍic deity Viṣṇu-Jagannātha was linked with Vimaḷā as her Bhairava, while she, in an unnatural way, become his Śakti, i.e., Bhairavī. It is probable that this development, Jagannātha was the only deity to have existed in the temple. Vimaḷā, as his Śakti, was thus, a subsequent addition to Jagannātha. Later when Lakṣmī came to the picture, Vimaḷā's relationship with Jagannātha was served. And still later, after the inclusion of Balabhadra and Subhadrā, the entire relationship took a different shape. Now Vimaḷā, visualized as Durgā, became the Śakti of Balabhadra, who in turn came to be conceived as Śiva.

Besides Śāktism and Tāntrism the cult of Jagannātha has also been embraced by Buddhism. Some scholars believe that the Trinity has its origin in the *Tri Ratna* of Buddhism, i.e., Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha.[176] This view has been so forcefully set forth that it demands its analysis here.

Buddhist Origin

The theory of the 'Buddhist Origin of Jagannātha' was highly advocated by General Cunningham in his books '*Bhilsā Topes*' and '*The Stupa of Bārhut*'. Besides, several other points in support of this concept are also noticed. First, the old *Pāli* literature refers to Jagannātha. Secondly, a Buddha image of Ellora is called Jagannātha. Thirdly, 'Dhamma' in Buddhism is conceived as female and in the '*Tri-Ratna*', she is conceived as the sister. Fourthly, the car festival of Jagannātha is connected with the car festival of Buddhism, which is supposed to have its origin at Khotān.[177] Fifthly, the story of the incomplete figure of Buddha at Bodhgayā has affinity with that of Jagannātha.[178] Indrabhuti's *Jñāna Siddhi* also refers to Buddha as Jagannātha.[179]

The supporters of Brāhmaṇism in Jagannātha argue that the Trinity originated from '*Oṁ*', i.e., A, U, Ma and likewise the advocates of the theory of 'Buddhist origin of Jagannātha' conceive the idea that the Trinity (Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā) corresponds to the *Tri-Ratna* symbol of Buddhism. This view seems to be quite absurd since the number of images

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in the Jagannātha temple is not three, but four, viz., Jagannātha, Balabhadra, Subhadrā and Sudarśana. The purāṇas like *Agni, Padma, Brahma, Nārada* and *Skanda* refer to 'Caturddhā Mūrti', the four images of Jagannātha temple. The present purāṇa, *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* mentions seven images.[180] The 'Caturddhā Mūrti' meticulously corresponds to four mantras of *praṇava*, while the Trinity represents Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Maheśvara or aspects like *Satva, Rajaḥ* and *Tamaḥ*. The mere coincidence of *Tri-Ratna* and Tri-Mūrti is not a sound basis to consider Jagannātha as Buddha or the cult has Buddhist origin.

The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* includes the theory of ten incarnations of Jagannātha[181] who is Viṣṇu himself. The purāṇa speaks that Buddha is one of the incarnations of Lord Jagannātha.[182] This clearly indicates that Jagannātha himself is not Buddha nor His cult is originated from Buddhism.

Sometimes, the car festival of Lord Jagannātha has been argued to have been followed from Buddhist culture. This point of argument has no base,[183] since the use of chariots was popular even in the Vedic (the chariot of Savitā) and Upaniṣadic periods.[184]

According to some scholars, the discard of casteism in Jagannātha temple, specially at the time of taking 'Mahāprasāda', may have been stemmed from the Buddhist tradition. This is also not correct. Because, the sanctity and significance of Mahāprasāda is loudly proclaimed in the purāṇas, such as *Padma, Viṣṇu, Bhaviṣya, Varāha, Brahma-vaivarata, Garuḍa* as also in Tāntric texts, like *Brahmaḷa Yāmaḷa* and *Rudra Yāmaḷa*.[185] All of these texts dictates that the Mahāprasāda is to be accepted regardless of the caste or sex. Similarly, our purāṇa also depicts the 'Mahāprasāda-Māhātmyam' which discards the idea of untouchability as well as casteism. Thus, the practice is there in Jagannātha Cult originally. It is neither borrowed from Buddhism nor it itself is Buddhist culture.

Lastly, the legend of transferring the tooth of Buddha to the body of Lord Jagannātha is baseless. The legend describes that the Buddhist monk Kṣematther presented one of the teeth of Buddha to the-then king of Kaliṅga who built a Stūpa for the worship of the same.[186] Even Dr. Mahatab, a staunch supporter of the Buddhist origin of Jagannātha does not accept the story as it has no historical base.[187] Further, the Buddhist tradition also prescribes that no symbol of Śākya Muni is to be worshipped secretly.[188] Therefore, the tooth-legend has no relation with the origin of Jagannātha.

According to another story, the Nābhi Brahma of Jagannātha, rescued by Bisara Mahanty from the invasion of Kaḷāpāhāḍa, is not to be confused with 'tooth'. This 'Nābhi Brahma' transferred by the 'Daitās' (temple servant) on the occasion of the 'Navakalevara' festival is never called a tooth. Thus, the story of Bisara Mahanty has no importance.

Further, the odd shape of Jagannātha should not unnecessarily be related with Buddhism. The shape of the deity has been clearly described by Dr. K.C. Mishra in his book 'The Cult of Jagannātha'.[189] Moreover, the contention that the Puri Triad owes its origin to Buddhism has been rejected by many scholars[190] with adequate reasons there to.

However, due to the conflict between the Buddhists and the Hindus in the 7th and 8th century, Indra Bhuti effected a compromise by using the epithet Jagannātha as a synonym of Buddha in his work *Jñāna Siddhi*.[191] In the 12th century, the great Oriya poet Jayadeva, while

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depicting the ten incarnations of Jagannātha, accepted Buddha as one of the incarnations.[192] But, the later poets like Sāraḷā Dāsa, Acyutānanda Dāsa, Divākara Dāsa, Balarāma Dāsa, Śikhara Dāsa, etc., have regarded Buddha, instead of Jagannātha, as the ninth incarnation of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa.[193]

Influence of Jainism on Jagannātha Cult

The mysterious deity Lord Jagannātha, as suggested by the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, is primarily Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa. But, due to the influence of Buddhism and Jainism on Jagannātha Cult, the deity is considered, by some scholars, as Buddha or Jaina. This happens because of the reign of Buddhist and Jaina kings in Orissa. In the first century B.C., this state was ruled by Khāraveḷa, who at the same time was the overlord of a greater part of India. The 'Hātigumphā' inscription of Bhubaneswar suggests that King Khāraveḷa was a Jaina, though he was not averse to other religions. But none of Khāraveḷa's inscriptions describe him as such, nor is there any reference anywhere regarding the installation of Jagannātha images by him.[194]

However, Tīrthaṅkara[195] in Jainism is conceived as Puruṣottama. It is also a popular belief in Jainism that Puruṣottama is the highest embodiment of spirituality.[196] With this as a basis and guided solely by the similarity of names, scholars attempt to link the concept of Puruṣottama with Puruṣottama-Jagannātha.

The Puri region of Orissa had become a sacred Jaina centre by the 1st century B.C., i.e., during the reign of Khāraveḷa; though Jainism made its way into Orissa even before the reign of Mahāpadma Nanda (4th century B.C.).[197] Earlier, in the third century B.C., Aśoka had invaded Kaliṅga and taken away the 'Jināsana', which after two hundred years was rescued by Khāraveḷa from Magadha. The scholars take Jagannātha to be the same Jināsana. But, nowhere, whether in inscriptions or in ancient works, is found any such reference.

The suggestions offered by Pandit N.K. Das regarding the association of Jagannātha Cult with Jainism is quite superficial. According to his viewpoints, the three main figures of Balabhadra, Subhadrā and Jagannātha collectively represent the Jaina concept of Trinity, viz., '*Samyak Jñāna, Samyak Caritra* and *Samyak Dṛṣṭi*.'[198] His argument, in fact, is as superficial as the A, U, Ma; or *Satva, Rajaḥ* and *Tamaḥ* concepts of Jagannātha's Trinity. The mere coincidence of number there is not a sound argument to think that Jagannātha is Jaina.

Some scholars associate the 'Kaivalya Mukti' of Jainism with the 'Kaivalya' of Jagannātha. Dinakṛṣṇa Dāsa, an Oriya poet of the 18th century, says, "the liberation, which Jagannātha-worship gives, is Kaivalya Mukti".[199] The oblations made to Jagannātha are also called 'Kaivalya'. This word 'Kaivalya' is derived from the word 'Kevala'. In Jainism it means 'perfect wisdom', which is omniscient in character.[200] But, Kevala is Oriya as well as in Sanskrit language means 'only'. It is a common belief that the Mahāprasāda of Lord Jagannātha is the only thing which gives salvation to human being. Hence, they call it 'Kaivalya' and the salvation obtained by taking Kaivalya is called 'Kaivalya Mukti'. Therefore, this point of argument does not prove the Jaina origin of Jagannātha Cult.

The 'Kalpa Vṛkṣa' of Puri is argued to be associated with the 'Kalpa tree' of Jainism.

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The Jaina concept of 'Kalpa tree' is so important that even the Hātigumphā inscription of 'Khāraveḷa' has not failed to mention it.[201] But, this is not necessarily referring to 'Kalpa Vaṭa' of Puri. There are numerous 'Kalpa Vṛkṣas' in different parts of India. Therefore, this concept is not convincing one.

Some common features like 'Nirvāṇa' or 'Mukti' is found in Jainism, Buddhism and Hinduism.[202] From this, it will not be concluded that one religion owes its origin to the other. Moreover, when the assimilation of the different religions took place in the society, some aspects of one religion found acceptance with the later religions. For example, the Hindus accepted Buddha as a form of Viṣṇu and the Jainas conceived Ṛṣabha as Bhairava-Śiva.[203] While studying the processes of assimilation, it is always very difficult to exactly determine the time of the assimilation, or how and why a particular term came to be accepted by other religions. As such, we cannot say with any degree of certainty that the Kalpa Vṛkṣa of Puri has its origin in Jainism.

Likewise, the concept of Puruṣottama in Jainism is not necessarily the same as that of Puruṣottama-Jagannātha. But for the similarity of names, the philosophy of the two is completely different from each other. While the Jaina Saints are mythical or historical persons, Jagannātha is called '*Apuruṣa*' in *Puruṣottama-Māhātmyam*, though he is the Puruṣottama at the same time.[204] The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* does not include any reference to inter connect Jainism with Jagannātha Cult.

It is interesting to note that no other religion has pictured Puruṣottama or Jagannātha in so odd a manner as is the figure of Jagannātha at Puri. Dr. Benimadhava Padhi, in his book '*The Dāru Devatā*', makes a futile attempt to prove that the figure of Jagannātha combines in it two Jaina symbols : 'Vaddha Maṅgaḷa' and 'Nandipada'.[205] But peculiarly Pandit K.N. Mahapatra, in his book *Śrī Khāraveḷa*, has identified the 'Vaddha Maṅgaḷa' of Dr. Padhi as 'Nandipada', and vice versa.[206] The conclusion forwarded by Pandit K.N. Mahapatra is noteworthy and the scholars of Jainism are expected to corroborate the same.

Thus, we see that neither the figure of Jagannātha nor the cult owes its origin to Jainism. Moreover, our purāṇa 'The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*' accepts Him as a Viṣṇuite deity. It is silent about Jaina-concept or symbol.

Nāthism and Jagannātha Cult

Jagannātha is, in fact, so mystical that many religious sects have been eager to own Him as their deity. This being so, some scholars have sought to forge his link with Nāthism, a Tāntric and Yogic system of thought, contemporaneous with the Vajrayānic system of Buddhism of Buddhism in Orissa.

We come across some 'Nāthas' in Jainism. One among those is the 'Pārśvanātha' who is commonly known as a Jaina saint. The founder of Nāthism was Kapāli and hence the people of Nātha persuation are called the Kāpālikas.[207] There are many other prominent saints of this sect, whose names have 'Nāth-ending'. As the word Jagannātha has also 'Nātha-ending', many scholars have hastened to link him with either Jainism or Nāthism.

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Never has Jagannātha belonged to any particular religion or sect. It would, therefore, be wrong to associate Lord Jagannātha exclusively with Jainism, Buddhism or Hinduism. The fact is that when one religion became socially predominant, it was reflected in the cult of Jagannātha.[208]

As is figured in the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam,* the image of Jagannātha might have been resulted from Viṣṇu-worship (Nīlamādhava-worship) to reconcile the 'Gaṇa Dharma' with the universal name of Jagannātha, the master of the universe. The Viṣṇu version of this deity is very much convincing. The deity adheres to the names like Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Nṛsiṁha, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Maheśa, Bhairava, Nīlamādhava, Nārāyaṇa, Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa, Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa and so on. All these deities are worshipped by the Vaiṣṇavas, who worship Jagannātha as the combination of all such Vaiṣṇava Gods. This concept has been meticulously treated in our purāṇa which leads us to the conclusion that Lord Jagannātha is primarily a Viṣṇuite deity. But, due to the influence of other religious sects in Orissa, he is conceived as the Jagat-Nātha or Jagannātha who represents all the religions of Orissa in a unitary form.

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1. Sudarśana is Kāḷa Cakra (*Ahirbudhnva Saṁhitā*, Ch.33, Śloka 8) and was created first. So it is brought first to the chariot and kept with Subhadrā, the Goddess Śakti. "Tataḥ cakramayam sarvam jagatsthāvarajaṅgamam Sudarśana-syaiva kāḷacakrātmatam."
2. *C.J.*, p.179 and fn.77.
3. *N.M.*, 4.13b : "Sudarśanaḥ stambharūpi vabhuva vijitendriyaḥ//"
4. *N.M.*, 4.10a : "Nīlajīmūta saṁkāśaḥ...../"
   N.M., 4.11b : "Kundendu śaṁkha dhavalaḥ...../"
   N.M., 4.13a : "Adholamvita hastāvjā kuṁkumābhā śubhānanā/"

4A. *Śukra Nīti,* p.261.

4B. *Ibid.*

5. Cf. *Ṛgveda*, 7.104.5; 19.97.4,5,8; 10.165.3; *Atharva Veda*, 8.2.25; 8.7.2; 12.4.25; 13.4.42.
6. *Ṛgveda*, 1.124.4; 1.162.22; 3.29.13; 4.3.10; 5.62.6,8; 7.6.1; 9.9.7; *Atharva Veda*, 3.6.1; 3.23.3; 4.4.4.
7. Cf. the Sāṁkhyakārikā of Īśvarakṛṣṇa :
   "Puruṣo'sti bhoktṛbhāvāt...../" Verse 17.
   "Puruṣabahutvaṁ siddham...../" Verse 18.
   "..... siddham śakṣitvam asya puruṣasya/" Verse 19 and also the verse 21.
8. *Bhagavad Gītā*, 15.16-18.
9. *Ṛgveda*, X.90.
10. *Skanda Purāṇa,* Bombay edn., VI.239.
11. *Bhagavad Gītā*, 11.13.
12. *Ibid.*, 11.1.26-69.
13. *Mbh.*, Udyogaparva, Adhy. 129; Bhiṣmaparva, 35.5-31; Āśvamedhikaparva, Adhy.54.
14. *Bhagavad Gītā*, 11.18.
15. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, X.55.1, 7-10; X.551; VIII.8.41-46.

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16. *Śvetāśvetara Upaniṣad*, III.19 : "Apāṇipādo yavanograhitā...../"
Kaivaiyopaniṣad, Mantra - 21 : "Apāṇipādo-hamachintya śakti ...../"

17. *N.M.*, 6.2-4 :
"Paraṁbrahma paraṁdhāma pavitraṁ ca parātpara/
Pūrṇānandamayaṁ pūṇyaṁ nirguṇaṁ saccidātmakam//
Vedāntavedyaṁ paraṁ sarvatomukhamavyayam/
Nirīhaṁ śāśvataṁ sāntaṁ śivaṁ tattvavidānnvitam//
Ajaṁ niranjanaṁ tavadvāṁmanasa gocaram/"

18. *N.M.*, 6.22a : "Advitīya parārddhasya pramāpūraṇa kāriṇe/"

19. *C.J.*, p.154.

20. *N.M.*, 6.22b : "Dārubrahma svarūpāya tasmai ...../"

21. *P.M.*, 46.31.

22. *Ibid.*, 47.5.

23. Satva (*N.M.*, 51.13a); Rajaḥ (*N.M.*, 51.12a) Tamaḥ (*N.M.*, 51.14a).

24. *Maṇḍūkyopaniṣad*, Śl.1-2.

25. *N.M.*, 5.102b-105 :
"Viṣṇuṁ dṛṣṭvā sa ...../
Sāmavedena tuṣṭāva...../
Tathaiva baladevaṁ ca namaskṛtya pitāmahaḥ//
Ṛgvedenātha tuṣṭāva tato bhadrāṁ prajāpatiḥ/
Yajurvedena santoṣya tataścakraṁ sudarśanam//
Mādhavaṁ ca dharāṁ lakṣmīmatharvaṇarucā stuvan//"

26. *N.M.*, 6.53a : "Advitīyaṁ paraṁ brahma yaḥ sarvaṁ vyāpyatiṣṭhati/"

27. *N.M.*, 6.53b : "Tadbrahma saptadhāmūrttyā svayaṁ nīḷācalemune/"

28. *P.M.*, 27.23-31.

29. *Ibid.*, 28.42.

30. *Ibid.*, 28.35 : "Apauruṣeya taruṇa caturmūrtirbhaviṣyati/"

31. *N.M.*, 6.61b : "Sākṣādbhagavatastasya ...../"

32. *N.M.*, 6.62a : "Dārubhrahma nirākāraṁ nirguṇaṁ nirvikārakam/"

33. *N.M.*, 6.63b : "Saguṇaṁ brahmaṇorūpaṁ...../"

34. *N.M.*, 10.125-126a :
"Sākṣād brahma svarūpo'yaṁ jagannātho na saṁśayaḥ//
Tasyāvalokanānmukti stavantāsanato nṛpa/"

35. *N.M.*, 6.6-8a :
"Mınarūpaṁ samāsthāyaṁ...../
Namaste devadeveśa namaḥ kacchaparūpiṇe/
Varāha rūpiṇe tubhyaṁ...../
Namo nṛsiṁha rūpāya...../"

36. *N.M.*, 3.64a : "Yojanadvayamaunnatyaṁ dadhat kalpānta saṁsthitaḥ/"

37. *P.M.*, 27.17 : "Jñāte tvai vilīyate rajju sarpādi bodhavat/"

38. *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad*, Sūtra V, Śloka 1.

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39. *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, Mantra 10.

40. *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad*, Ślokas 1-8.

41. Viṣṇusahasranāma stotram - Śaṅkarācārya, p.371.

42. Pañcarātra Āgama, Nārada Pañcarātra, Ch.XXXIII-XXXV.
Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad, Ślokas 1-2.

43. *N.M.*, 5.111a : "Kṛṣṇaṁ rāmaṁ subhadrāṁ ca cakraṁ caiva sudarśanam/"
N.M., 5.114b : "Jagannātha sahāyāṁ tāṁ parśveva pṛthivīrāmām//"

44. *L.V.*, p.50.

45. *N.M.*, 6.11 :
"Baḷastu śeṣarūpeṇa yacchiraḥ sthalataḥ sthitaḥ/
Tasmai nṛsiṁharūpāya namaste'vyakta rūpiṇe//"
N.M., 6.12a : "..... sa bhadrā padmarūpe vyavasthitā/"

46. *Premabhakti Gītā*, Ch.5.

47. *Nīlasundara Gītā*, Ch.6.

48. *Sāraḷā Mahābhārata* quoted in *J.M.*, p.63.

49. *N.M.*, Ch.88.

50. *Brahma Purāṇa*, Ch.LIII, Śloka 58 :
"Namaste sarvage devī/
Namaste sarvasaṅkhyade/
Trāhi māṁ padma patrākṣī/
Kātyāyanī namastute//"

51. Cf. the commentary of Jiva Gosvamin on Śrī Brahmasaṁhitā, Ch.V, Śloka 3.

52. Dāsa, Divākara, *Jagannātha Caritāmṛta*, p.55 and pp.162-163; Dāsa, Balrāma, *Gupta Gītā*, Ch.4.

53. *L.V.*, p.52 and fn.38.

54. Dāsa, Yaśovanta, *Prema Bhakti Brahma Gītā*, Ch.III.

55. Dāsa, Balrāma, *Gupta Gītā*.

56. Dāsa, Divākara, *Jagannātha Caritāmṛta*, Ch.4, p.62; Ch.14, p.120.

57. *Ibid.* Ch.4 and 9.

58. *Ibid.*, Ch.17, p.221 :
"Jakāraśca jagannātha gakāra baladevakam/
Bhadrā nakāra bhāvena thakāraśca sudarśana//"

59. *N.M.*, 5.117a : "Bhairavaṁ pārthayitvā dau...../"

60. *N.M.*, 10.127b : "Māhātmyaṁ jagadīśasya tadannasya ca sattamāḥ//"

61. *N.M.*, 10.134b : "Tasyānnasya ca māhātmyaṁ kenavaktum hi sakyate//"

62. *N.M.*, 10.129:
"Deśāntare janoyastu bhakṣet pratidinaṁ dvijāḥ/
Sarvapāpavinirmuktaḥ sagacchet paramaṁ padam//"

63. *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* quoted in *Pallisvapna*, 13th year, 9th issue, p.3:
"Anya varṇerhīnavarṇeḥ saṁkara prabhavairapi/
Spṛṣṭaṁ jagatpaterannaṁ bhuktaṁ sarvāghanāśanam//"

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64. *N.M.*, 2.86b :
"Viluṭhan bhuvi saṁharṣāsāt vipraḥ saṁyatendriyaḥ//"

65. Chakravarti, P., *Origin and Development of Sāṁkhya System of Thought*, p.315; *C.J.*, p.177.

66. *C.J.R.T.O.*, p.4.

67. Mitra, D., *Bhuvaneśvara*, pp.9-10.

68. *J.B.R.S.*, Vol.XXXIX, p.6.

69. *E.I.*, Vol.III, p.41.

70. Mukherji, P., *H.M.V.O.*, pp.20-21.

71. *Ibid.*

72. Das, Biswarup, *The Bhauma-Karas and their times*, p.154.

73. *Dārḍhyatā Bhakti*, Ch.23, p.186.

74. Mansingh, Mayadhar, *Saga of the Land of Jagannātha*, p.154.

75. *N.M.*, 5.192a : "Keśavaṁ vāsudevaṁ ca nārāyaṇamataḥ param/"

76. *N.M.*, 4.77b : "Vaiṣṇavo viṣṇubhaktijño dharmatatpara mānasaḥ//"

77. *N.M.*, 2.81 :
"Tādṛśaṁ mādhavaṁ tatra darśayāmāsa taṁ dvijam/
Vidyāpati stato dṛṣṭvā praṇamya daṇḍavadbhuvi//"

78. *L.V.*, p.54 and fn.53.

79. *N.M.*, 1.80a : "Ato viṣṇoḥ śarīraṁ hi kṣetraṁ śrīpuruṣottamam/"

80. *N.M.*, 1.32 :
"Ratnasiṁhāsane divye varttate nīlamādhavaḥ/
Ubhayoḥ pārsvayostasya dharā lakṣmiśca saṁsthite//"

81. *Garuḍa* (*N.M.*, 29.44a and 46a).

82. *N.M.*, 6.26a : "Vāsudeva mahāvāho lokānugraha kampayā/"

83. *N.M.*, 85.26a : "Vāsudevāgraja śrīman praḷamvāsuranāśana/"

84. *N.M.*, 85.28b : "Śaṁkhaṁ cakraṁ haḷaṁ caiva muṣaḷaṁ dadhataṁ karaiḥ//"

85. *N.M.*, 12.55b : "Lokanāthena devena tadā kṛṣṇaṁ samarccayet//"

86. *N.M.*, 8.29b : "Rukmiṇī satyabhāmādi premollāsakaraṁ harim//"

87. *N.M.*, 8.54 :
"Caturtha kālapūjāyāṁ bhāvayenmura vairiṇam/
Rāsamaṇḍala madhyasthaṁ gopīvṛnda niṣevitam//"

88. *N.M.*, 8.27 :
"Prātaḥ kāle prathamataḥ śrīvṛndāvana bhāvanām/
Tatrastha keśavaṁ dhyāyedvāḷa rūpiṇamavyayam//"

89. *N.M.*, 8.28 :
"Madhyāhna pūjane viṣṇuṁ kaiśora daśayānvitam/
Śrīvṛndāvanagaṁ dhyāyet koṭi kandarpa sundaram//"

90. *N.M.*, 8.29a : "Sāyāhne dvāravatyāṁ ca sthitaṁ vai muravairiṇam/"

91. *N.M.*, 6.27 :

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"Tato gatvā vrajaṁ yatsmuṁ śrīvṛndāvana kautukām/
Gopīkābhiḥ samaṁ tāvat krīḍākṛtvā muhurmuhuḥ//"

92. *N.M.*, 29.69a : "Nārāyaṇa suraśreṣṭha śaṁkha cakragadāvjadhṛk/"

93. *N.M.*, 12.56 :
"Amāvasyā dine viṣṇoḥ prātaḥ pūjāvasānataḥ/
Nārāyaṇa pratikṛtī devāgre sthāpayedvudhaḥ//"

94. *N.M.*, 16.22b : "Śrīkṛṣṇaṁ sthāpayettatra nānāḷaṁkāra saṁkuḷe//"

95. *N.M.*, 16.11a : "Lakṣmīpate jagannātha bhaktānugraha kāraka/"

96. *N.M.*, 29.30a : "Jagannātha namaste'stu viṣṇu sarvāghanāśana/"

97. Divākara, Vipra, *Jagannāthāmṛta Gītā*, Ch.12, p.78.

98. Murari, Caitanya-*Cairtāmṛta-Kāvya*, III.10.17.

99. *Śūnya Saṁhitā*, X; Prema Bhakti Gītā, III.

100. Divākara, Vipra, *Jagannāthāmṛta Gītā*, Ch.12, p.82 :
"Śrīkṛṣṇa paścimamukhe rādhāmukhaṁ ca pūrvake/
Parasparaṁ kṛṣṇa rādhā vilāsaḥ nīḷakandare/"

101. *Ibid.*, p.78.

102. *Jagannātha Caritāmṛtam*, p.66 :
"Jagannātha śarīreṇa rādhā tiṣṭhati sarvadā...../
Rādhā svayaṁ jagannāthaḥ sthūḷavisva vidhāyinī//"

103. *Ibid.*, Ch.10 and 12, p.162.

104. *Haribhakti Viḷāsa* (Calamūrti Pratiṣṭhā Vidhi), p.156.
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105. *Brahma Purāṇa*, Ch.46.

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109. Das, N.K., *Oriya Sāhityara Krama Pariṇāma*, Part I, p.183. *Vedic Index*, p.184.

110. *Chāndogyopaniṣad*, III, 17.6; quoted in *Vedic Index*, Macdonell and Keith, 1958, p.184.

111. *Bhagavad Gītā*, Canto 15.

112. *Mbh.*, Vana Parva : "Tapasā tasya pāṇḍava..... vedi rūpā sthitā vabhau/"

113. *N.M.*, 16.52 :
"Mahāvedīṁ tatonītvā sthāpayedatiyatnataḥ/
Mahāvedī sthaḷe viṣṇuṁ dārubhrahma svarūpītaḥ//"

114. *Gīta Govindam*, Daśāvatāra :
"Jaya jagadīśa hare" and
"Daśākṛti kṛte kṛṣṇāya tubhayaṁ namaḥ"

115. Das, S.N., *Jagannātha Mandira O Jagannātha Tattva*, pp.83-85.
The commentary on Gītā by Madhusudana Sarasvati - "Ete cāṁśa kaḷāḥ puṁṣaḥ kṛṣṇastu bhagavān svayam/"

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Oriya Bhāgavata says -
"Śrī Jagannātha ṣoḷa kaḷā,
Tahuṁ kaḷāe nandavaḷā."

116. *Kramadīpikā*, 1.12 : "Mantraḥ prādyumno jaganmohano'yam//"

117. *N.M.*, 15.17b : "Rāmaṁ nṛsiṁhaṁ kṛṣṇaṁ ca pratimārūpa dhariṇam//"

118. *N.M.*, 6.11b : "Tasmai nṛsiṁharūpāya namaste'vya ktarūpiṇe//"
N.M., 6.14b : "Nṛsiṁha rūpiṇe tasmai nīlācale nivasine//"

119. *N.M.*, 6.15b : "Namastasmai nṛsiṁhāya daityasaṁghacchide namaḥ//"

120. *N.M.*, 3.58b : "Yatrāste bhayasaṁharttā nṛsiṁho bhagavān vibhuḥ//"

121. *N.M.*, 6.16 :
"Tai lokyā lokajananī padmāsau padmalocanā/
Yadvakṣasi sthitā bhāti taṁ nṛsiṁhaṁ namāmyaham//"

122. *Brahma Purāṇa*, Adhyāyas 39 to 69.

123. *N.M.*, 3.59a : "Hiraṇyakaśipu daityaṁ dārayantaṁ bhayāvaham/"

124. *C.J.*, 1971 Edn., p.153.

125. *C.J.R.T.O.*, p.112 and fn.53.

126. *N.M.*, 5.51b : "Narasiṁhaṁ mahāvīryyaṁ mantrarājena mantravit//"

127. *Skanda Purāṇa*, Puruṣottama Māhātmyam, 28.52cd-53 :
"Anena mantrarājena viṣṇuṁ enam samarcaya///
Nātaḥ paratars mantro na bhūto na bhaviṣyati////
Anenābhyarcito viṣṇuḥ prīto bhavati tatkṣaṇāt/"

127A. *L.V.*, p.59.

128. *Brahma Purāṇa*, 56.23-26 :
"Śaiva bhāgavatānāṁ ca vādārtha pratiṣedhakam/
Asmin kṣetravare pūṇya nirmale puruṣottame//
Śivasyāyatanaṁ deva karomi paramaṁ mahat/"

129. *Ibid.*, 56.69-70.

130. *Śaṅkarācārya Granthāvaḷi*; Rajguru, K.C., Mohamudgara; L.V., p.59.

131. *C.J.*, p.181.

132. *N.M.*, 5.117b : "Bhairavaṁ prārthayītvā dau pradakṣiṇa mathohareḥ//"

133. *N.M.*, Ch.5.

134. *C.J.R.T.O., p.120.*

135. *Ibid.*, p.121 and fn.3, "Oḍreṣu vimaḷā śaktir jagannātha stu bhairavaḥ/"

136. Sastri, H.P., *Report on the search of Sanskrit Manuscripts* 1906-1911, p.3, quoted by K.N. Mahapatra, 1954, p.11.

137. *Skanda Purāṇa*, Utkala Khaṇḍa, 27.45b : "Namaḥ kālāgnirūdrāya mahārūdrāya te namaḥ//"

138. *N.M.*, 6.11a : "Balastu śeṣarūpeṇa yacchiraḥ sthalataḥ sthitaḥ/"

139. *N.M.*, 85.23b : "Kundendu śaṁkha gokṣīra sudhā varnāya te namaḥ//"

140. Mansingh, Mayadhar, *Saga of the Land of Jagannātha*, p.160; Jagannātha Māhātmyam, p.78.

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141. *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, Yuddha Kāṇḍa, Canto 126, Śl.22.

142. *A.I.H.T.*, p.277.

143. Sastri, D., *Nātha Dharmara Krama Vikāśa*, p.18.

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150. *N.M.*, 85.29b : "Vāsudevākhya mantreṇa baladevasya pūjanāt//"

151. *Skanda Purāṇa*, Puruṣottama Māhātmyam, 19.13 :
"Na bhedo'sti ha ko viprāḥ kṛṣṇasya cha balasya ca/"

152. *N.M.*, 12.6b : "Viṣṇuṁ vā balabhadraṁ vā bhadrāṁ vātha śubhapradām//"

153. *N.M.*, 6.5b : "Vande'haṁ kamalākāntaṁ sphuṭitāmvuja locanam//"

154. Vāj. Saṁhitā of white *Yajurveda*, III.27.

155. *Harivaṁśa* (Cr.Edn.), Adhy. 47.24, 25, 26 (bis), 54; Cf. also *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, V.I.70, 71, 72; V.3.20. *O.H.R.J.*, XI, 4, 1963, p.275.

156. *Harivaṁśa*, II, 2.40-42; II.3 (Āryāstava), 3-8.

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165. Śāradā Tiḷakaṁ, Ch.1 and Śākta Taraṅgiṇi, Ch.1.

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167. *N.M.*, 89.11b : "Brahmāṇī brahmarūpāṁ tāṁ tadavanmāheśvarī mapi//"

168. *N.M.*, 89.12 :
"Kaumārīṁ vaiṣṇavīṁ caiva vārāhīṁ ca nṛpottama/
Indrāṇīṁ cāpi cāmundāṁ mahālakṣmī mataḥ param//"

169. *P.M.*, 27.101 : "Bhadrā bhadra svarūpaṁ tvāṁ bhadrakāḷī namastute/"

170. *N.M.*, 89.16a : "Iyaṁ sākṣād brahmarūpā subhadrā bhuvaneśvarī/"

171. *N.M.*, 90.18a : "Brahmā viṣṇu maheśāśca sva svāyudha samanvitaḥ/"

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172. *L.V.*, p.63 and fn.132.
173. *O.I.*, p.588.
174. *C.J.*, p.107. : "Vimaḷā bhairavī yatra jagannāthastu bhairava/"
175. L.V., p.62 and fn.126.
176. *C.A.G.I.*, p.585; *H.O.*, Jagannātha Dharma.
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180. *N.M.*, 6.9b : "Mūrti saptavidhāṁ hitvā...../"
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183. *C.J.*, p.91; The Ferhera Festival in Ceylon, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol.III, September 1874, pp.250-54.
184. *Atharva Veda*, XX, 2-XIV;
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185. Vidyavinod, S.N., *ŚrīKṣetra* (Bengali), p.44.
186. *Dāṭha Dhātuvaṁsa* (Pāli) by Dharma Kīṛtti
O.I., p.438.
187. *O.I.*, p.574.
188. *L.V.*, p.65.
189. *C.J.*, p.111.
190. "Jagannātha is not Buddha' Sahakāra, XVI, No.7; Mukherji, P., *H.M.V.O.*, p.30; Mishra, M.M. Sadasiva, *Jagannātha Temple*, p.30; Ganguli, M.M., *Orissa and Her Remains*, p.406; *L.V.*, p.65.
191. *Jñāna Siddhi*, Canto 1.1; *C.J.*, p.19; Panigrahi, K.C., *Archaeological Remains at Bhuvaneśvara*, p.186.
192. *Jayadeva Gīta Govindam*, 'Daśāvatāra' :
"Keśava dhṛta-buddha śarıra,
Jaya jagadīśa hare."
Jagadīśa has been used as the epithet of Jagannātha.
193. *Sāraḷā Mahābhārata,* Sabhā Parva,
"Buddharūpe vije achanti jagannātha."
Śūnya Saṁhitā, Ch.IX, Ch.XIII, Ch.XXX.
194. *L.V.*, p.66.
195. Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi, Devakāṇḍa, p.9, Śl.52;
C.J., p.22 : "Devādhi deva-vodhida-puruṣottama vıtarāgāptāḥ/"
196. *Dāru Devatā*, p.154.
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198. Das, N.K., "*On the Hints of the Significance and History of Jagannātha*", vide *O.H.R.J.*, Vol.VII, No.1, pp.2-3.
199. *Rāsa Kalloḷa*, Prācī Edn., p.6; *C.J.*, p.89.
200. *L.V.*, p.67 and fn.162.

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201. *Hāthigumphā Inscription* and *J.Ne.*, p.12 :
"Kalpa vṛkṣān hayagaja rathān.....dadāti/"

202. *Cultural Heritage of India,* Vol.I, Part IV.

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"Kailāsaśikhare ramye vṛṣabho'yaṁ jineśvaraḥ/"

204. *P.M.*, 18.13-14.

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206. *L.V.*, p.68 and *Śrī Khāraveḷa*, pp.86-87.

207. *Dāru Devatā*, p.161; Nātha Dharmara Krama Vikāśa, I.p.28.

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GLOSSARY

Abda : An epithet of year.

Abhaya Mudrā : It is a 'Mudrā' practised in religious worship. It is certain position of fingers.

Abhiṣeka : Coronation.

Adhivāsa : The necessary arrangements for a festival or religious rites performed a day before it are called 'Adhivāsa'.

Aguru: It is a perfumed thing and one of the perfumes among the five perfumes, called 'Pañcasama', i.e., Candana, Aguru, Kuṅkuma, Cuā and Karpura.

Akṣata : Thrashed and winnowed rice dried in the Sun. It is the unhusked and pounded rice washed with water and used as an article of worship in all religious and sacred ceremonies.

Akṣaya Tṛtīyā : The lunar third day which comes in the white fortnight of the month Vaiśākha (April-May).

Amṛta : Nectar or Ambresia, by taking this the Gods are said to be immortals.

Anāryas : Literally it means, he who is not- Āryan, i.e., non-Āryan. But in course of time the meaning has changed into "an ignoble person, a Śūdra, Mleccha, and unbeliever of the Vedas and he who is not religious."

Aṅgas and the Upāṅgas : These are the branches of the Vedas.

Aṅkurārpaṇa : The name of a rite which is performed before invoking the deity.

Aṅkurāropaṇa : This is also a ritual, performed in the beginning of a sacrifice or a religious function.

Antaryāmī : He who knows the inner thoughts of the heart.

Antarvedī : 'The place between the sea and the Banyan tree' is said to be more sacred in the whole spots of Puruṣottama-Kṣetra.

Anuṣṭup : It is both a Vedic and classic metre.

Arcaka : Worshipper.

Arghya : Respectful offering oblation to the God.

Ācamana : Rinsing the mouth by sipping water before all religious performances.

Ācāra : The manner in which one conducts oneself. The customary law.

Ācārya : The chief preceptor.

Ādhāra Śakti : Supporting force.

Ādityas : The sons of Aditī, i.e., gods in general. In particular sense also stands for the Sun.

Āhutis : The oblation made to the fire in the names of different gods.

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Ālati : The waving of flames in the face of the images of gods, produced by comphor, aloe, etc.

Aṣṭāṅgayoga : This is the difficult type of Yoga having its eight limbs; viz., Yama, Niyama, Āsana, Prāṇayāma, Pratyāhāra, Dhāraṇā, Dhyāna and Samādhi. (Vide Nātha Dharmara Krama Vikāśa, p. 37 and Patañjali Darśana, p. 201).

Aṣṭākṣara Mantra : The Mantra consisting of eight syllables, viz., "*Oṁ Namo Nārāyaṇāya*".

Āṣāḍha : A lunar month corresponding to June-July.

Āśvina : A lunar month corresponding to September-October.

Aśvins : Two physician gods, the twin sons of the Sūrya.

Āvāhana : It is a process of applying the Mantras for inviting or invoking a deity.

Ayana : The period of the duration of the passage of the Sun in the north and the south of the equator. This is the half year, the time from one solstice to another. Hence, the Ayanas are two in numbers, viz., 1. Uttarāyaṇa and 2. Dakṣiṇāyana.

Baḷi Mantra : The spell used for making oblation (Baḷi).

Berapūjā : Image worship.

Bhādrava : A lunar month corresponding to August-September.

Bhakṣa and Bhojya : An article of food considered to be eatable is known as 'Bhakṣa'. That which is taken by chewing is called Bhojya. Please see 'Food and drinks' of our fourth chapter.

Bhaktiyoga : Loving faith with loyal devotion.

Bhoga : The royal food, drinks, etc., one has for pleasure sake. But, usually it means the food, drinks, etc., offered to the deities during worship.

Bhogamaṇḍapa : Hall of offering in Hindu temple.

Bhukti and Mukti : The worldly enjoyment and salvation.

Bhutaśuddhi : Purification of the elements of the body.

Bhūsvarga : The heaven on earth.

Brahma Loka : The abode of Brahman.

Brahmarṣi : The Brahmaṇical sage.

Caitra :A lunar month corresponding to March-April.

Cakra : The disk of Viṣṇu (Jagannātha). Jagannātha is staying with Sudarśana Cakra as Caturddha Mūrti.

Cakrī : An epithet of Kṛṣṇa (Jagannātha).

Caru : An oblation of rice etc., made to the gods in the sacrifice.

Caturddhā : Literarily it means the four divisions. But it is translated here, "the

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embodiment of four images". In the Jagannātha temple the four images worshipped are Jagannātha, Balabhadra, Subhadrā and Sudarśana. These four images are called 'Caturddhā Mūrti.'

Caturvarga : Piety, prosperity, pleasure and the salvation.

Chanda : The Vedic meters like Gāyatrī, Jagati, etc. This is one of the six Vedāṅgas.

Chatra : Umbrella. It is not the same umbrella as we use. It is a special type of umbrella, very big in size, used only in the festive processions of the God.

Daityas and Dhutas : Demons and spirits. Daityas are the sons of 'Diti.'

Dakṣiṇā : The tradition is that a remuneration in the form of money is given to the Brāhmin after the gift is offered to him. This is known as Dakṣiṇā. The gift without 'Dakṣiṇā' is supposed to be useless.

Dakṣiṇāyana : One of the twelve festivals of Jagannātha. Dakṣiṇāyana means the progress of the Sun towards the south of the equator, the half year in which the Sun moves from the north to the south.

Dāṅkinī : A kind of female imp or female goblin.

Dāru : Wood.

Dāru Brahma : An epithet of Jagannātha.

Dharma : Religion (piety).

Divyarūpa : Uncommon form.

Dhūpa : Aromatic vapour of smoke used as incense.

Durvā : A kind of grass, used as an article of worship.

Dvādaśākṣara Mantra : The mantra containing twelve letters, viz., "*Oṁ Namo Bhagavata Vāsudevāya.*"

Garbha Pratiṣṭhā : The sanctuary of a temple or the inner chamber of a temple is called 'Garbha Gṛha', where the image of a deity is placed. Therefore, 'Garbha Pratiṣṭhā' means the construction of the 'Garbha Gṛha'.

Gāyatrī Mantra : A Vedic verse repeated by Brāhmins in the three Sandhyās, i.e., *Bhūr Bhuva Svaḥ, Tat Saviturvareṇyaṁ, Bhargodavasya Dhīmahi, Dhiyoyonaḥ Pracodayāt.* (Vide Ṛgveda, 3.62.10).

Gorocanā : It is a yellow, perfumed and auspicious thing found in the hoofs of a cow.

Grahaṣ : The nine planets which exercise good or bad influence on human beings.

Halāyudha : He who has the plough as a weapon, i.e., Balabhadra (Balarāma).

Homa : The ritualistic offering of ghee, etc., to fire.

Īśvara : An epithet for the God.

Jagamohana : Structure in front of the cella in which the image is placed in Hindu temple.

Japa : A continuous recitation, oral or mental, of some mantra or God's name.

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Jīvana Mukta : He who attains Mukti (salvation) in his life time.

Jyeṣṭha : A lunar month corresponding to May-June.

Karma : According to Bhagavadgītā, 'Karma' means the action in which one should have not the ambition for the result. It ordinarily means duty. But, it may be translated as action, work, deed, execution or performance, etc.

Kaivalya Mukti : The salvation which brings a mortal's absorption with the Supreme Spirit. It is the final emancipation.

Kāhāḷa : A type of begule played with the help of the mouth, at the time of worship.

Kāḷa : Time. This is responsible for creation, preservation and annihilation like the God 'Paraṁ Brahma'. So, the conception of Jagannātha is Kāḷa itself.

Kārttika : A lunar month corresponding to October-November.

Kṣetrapālas : The protectors of the Kṣetra.

Kuśa : A type of grass used for the performance of rituals. The mat prepared by this was considered to be the most sacred bed in ancient India.

Lakṣaṇa : Sign or indication.

Lājā : Parched or fried grain.

Lokapālas : The protectors of the world.

Madhu : Honey.

Madhyāhna Pūjā : Noon worship.

Madhyāhna Dhūpa : Mid-day worship.

Mahākalpa Druma : The great Kalpa tree. It is so named because a thing desired for under this tree, is surely attained.

Maharṣi : The great sage.

Mahāvedī : The sacrificial altar, named like this.

Maṇḍala : A kind of a mystical diagram intended to invoke a divinity.

Maṇḍapa : Hall of assemblage.

Maṇikodara : The name of the gate-keeper on duty.

Mantra : To charm with spell (charm or spell).

Manvantara : The peirod of the age of a Manu. This period, according to 'Manusmṛti 1.79, comprises 4, 320,00 human years of 1/14th of Brahmā'. There were fourteen 'Manus', viz., 1. Svāyambhuva, 2. Svārociṣa, 3. Autami, 4. Tāmasa, 5. Rāivata, 6. Cakṣus, 7. Bhaimavata, 8. Sāvarṇi, 9. Dakṣasāvarṇi, 10. Brahma Sāvarṇi, 11. Dharma Sāvarṇi, 12. Rudra Sāvarṇi, 13. Raucya Deva Sāvarṇi, 14. Indra Sāvarṇi. So that the fourteen 'Manvantaras' make up one whole day of Brahmā. (vide Sanskrit English Dictionary, p. 424).

Martya Loka : The middle world among the three worlds, where we live.

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Maruta : The god of wind.

Māgha : A lunar month corresponding to January-February.

Mālā : The garland.

Mānasī Pūjā : Mental worship.

Mānasopacāra : The Upacāras or the forms of worship assumed in mind.

Mārgaśira : A lunar month corresponding to November-December.

Mātṛkā : Divine mother or mother goddess.

Māyā : This is the magical power of Viṣṇu to regulate the order of the Universe.

Moha : Loss of consciousness or ignorance. This 'Moha' makes one believe in the reality of wordly objects and also induces in him the love of sensual pleasures.

Mokṣa : It is Nirvāṇa in Buddhist philosophy. Generally meant, salvation of Jīva or animals.

Mudrā : Gesture of hands shown during the worship of deities.

Mukti : The same as 'Mokṣa' or salvation.

Muṣaḷa : The name of an ancient Indian weapon, a mace or club.

Nāṭamaṇḍapa : Hall meant for dancing.

Nirājanā : A form of worship like Ālati.

Nirmālya : The dry-cooked rice, originally offered to Lord Jagannātha.

Nityapūjā : Daily worship.

Niyama : The rites intended to cultivate self-restraint and self-discipline.

Nīlaparvata : Nīlādri, where the temple of Jagannātha stands.

Padmākṛti : A lotus like diagram used in the practice of religious rites. Svastik and Kumbha, both are the specific diagrams for above purpose.

Pādya : Pādya is the water given for washing the feet.

Pañca Gabya : The five kinds of things like milk, curd, ghee, etc., coming out from the cow, viz., milk, curd, ghee, urine and cowdung.

Pañcabhūtas : The five elements, i.e., Soil, Water, Lustre, Wind and the Sky.

Pañca Mahābhūtas : The five primary elements, viz., Kṣit, Ap, Tyaja, Marut and Byoma.

Pañcāmṛta : An admixture of five flavours, viz., milk, curd, honey, sugar and ghee.

Para and Apara : Para means superior, while Apara in its negative form.

Paraṁ Brahma : The Supreme Spirit, same as Brahma itself.

Pāpa : Sin or bad deeds.

Pauṣa : A lunar month corresponding to December-January.

Pātāla : The nether world or the seventh one of the Under Ground Worlds.

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Phālguna : A lunar month corresponding to February-March.

Piśāca : A type of evil spirit.

Pitṛs : The ancestors.

Pīṭhaśuddhi : Purification of the seat of the worshipper.

Praṇava : The sacred syllable 'Oṁ'.

Pratiṣṭhā : The inaugural function.

Pratyarcā : The moving image of the God (Jagannātha).

Prāṇa Pratiṣṭhā : Giving life to the image of the deity.

Prāṇa Śakti : The vital energy.

Prātapūjā : Morning worship.

Prāyaścita : The religious act for the atonement of sin.

Puṇya : Merits.

Purohita : The fore-most man among all the royal people. He was the preceptor of the king.

Puruṣa : This is the Vedic Puruṣa, conceived in 'Puruṣa Sūkta of Ṛgveda'.

Puṣpāñjaḷi : The hands full of flowers.

Pūjā : The rite of worship or adoration.

Pūjaka : One who worships the deity. Pūjaka Brāhmin is a usual term.

Pūrṇāhuti : The last oblation.

Rājasūya : The name of a great sacrifice. Usually it was performed only by great kings.

Rudras : A group of gods, even in number. Śiva is the head of this group.

Śabda Brahma : The sound was also conceived in the ancient Indian philosophy as the part of Brahma without which man cannot express his feelings. Oṁkāra or Praṇava has been taken as 'Śabda Brahma'.

Śaṁkaras : A mixed class besides the famous four 'Varṇas'.

Śakra Loka : The place of Śakra (Indra) near Brahma Loka.

Śākuna Sūkta : The Sūkta connected with the science of Omens.

Śāka : An edible leaf.

Śaṁkha : Conch shell, sounded with the help of mouth, which is said to be very auspicious in character.

Śauca : This is a rite for the self-purification.

Śānti Vācana : The pacifying speech.

Śāstras : The sacred religious books.

Śeṣa Mantra : The spell (Mantra) connected to Śeṣadeva (Balabhadra).

Śeṣa Nāga : Śeṣa Nāga is the King of Nāgas and Lord Viṣṇu sleeps on it in the milk ocean making it as bed.

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Śrāvaṇa : A lunar month corresponding to July-August.

Śrī : Another name of Lakṣmī.

Ṣaḍaṅga Nyāsa : Assignment of the various parts of the body to different deities by a specific mark thereon.

Ṣaḍarghya Pūjā : Six kinds of respectable oblations or offerings.

Sakāḷa Dhūpa : Morning worship.

Samidha : Sacrificial fuel, wood in the form of sticks.

Saṁkalpa : Usually it is the determination or desire. But, it is the ritual observed before the worship of a deity begins. Here it means the 'expectation of advantage from a holy voluntary act'.

Sāṁkhya and Yoga : These are two branches of Indian philosophy.

Saṁsāra : Decoration.

Saṁskāra : The rite of purification.

Sāyāhna Dhūpa : Evening worship.

Sāyāhna Pūjā : Evening worship.

Siddhi : The accomplishment of an object. The 'siddhi' is generally meant as the super human power or faculty. These faculties are eight, viz., *Aṇimā, Laghimā, Prāptiḥ, Prākāmyaṁ, Mahimā Tathā; Isitvaṁ ca vasitvaṁ ca Tathā Kāmāvasāyitā.* (vide V.S. Apte, Sanskrit English Dictionary, p. 603).

Siṁhāsana : Throne, the master place which is a seat of honour.

Srauta and Smārta : Those which are based on sruti and smṛti.

Srauta Mārga : The path shown by sruti or the Vedas.

Sthūla : Fat or huge.

Stomabyuha : Stoma is sacrifice, i.e., Jyotistoma, Agnistoma, etc. Therefore, 'Stomabyuha' is the formation of sacrifice.

Stotras : Properly composed prayers meant to be offered to God.

Suras : The other name of the gods.

Sūkṣma : Very small or fine.

Svarga : Heaven.

Svasti Vācya : This is the religious rite for averting the evils which is preparatory to a sacrifice or any religious or solemn observance.

Svastika : A particular symbol made with powder of rice which is supposed to be a mystical mark.

Svāhā : An exclamation used in offering oblations to the gods, such as *Indrāya Svāhā, Agnaye Svāhā*, etc.

Tamaḥ : The darkness or the doubts of the mind.

Tarpaṇa : The rite intended to appease or pacify the souls of one's ancestors.

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Tāmbula : The leaf or piper-betel, which together with areca-nut and catechu is chewed after meals.

Three Tapas : Viz., Ādhyātmika, Ādhibhautika and Ādhidaivika.

Tila Puṣpa : Sesamum flower.

Tiḷaka : A mark made with sandal wood or unguents, etc.

Tīrtha : The sacred spot in the Kṣetra or anywhere else.

Tīrtharāja : The King of Tīrthas (sacred places).

Tri Guṇa : Satva, Rajaḥ and Tamaḥ.

Tri Saṁdhyā : Morning, noon and evening.

Tulasī : The holy basil held in veneration by the Hindus, especially by worshippers of Viṣṇu.

Vaiśākha : A lunar month corresponding to April-May.

Vara and Abhaya : These are two separate Mudrās (action).

Vādya : The musical instruments like drums, etc.

Vāsodhivāsa : Ceremonies to worship the God's winter clothes.

Vedas : There are four Vedas, viz., Ṛg, Yujuḥ, Sāma and Atharva.

Vedāṅgas : There are six Vedāṅgas. Such as Śikṣā, Kalpa, Vyākaraṇa, Chanda, Nirukta and Jyotiṣa.

Vedānta : The other name of Upaniṣads.

Vetāla : A kind of ghost occupying a dead body.

Vikāra Bheda : An alteration from the natural state.

Viṣṇu Loka : The abode of Viṣṇu, i.e., Vaikuṇṭha Bhuvana.

Vratas : Vowed observance.

Yajña Puruṣa : The Veda (ṚV) that conceives a sacrificial puruṣa suggests that this puruṣa is so great that it covers the whole universe with its limbs.

Yajñaśālā : The sacrificial chamber.

Yajñopavita : The sacrificial thread.

Yoga : To join the mind and soul with the great Brahma. The people who practise it are known as 'Yogīs'. This is a philosophy among the famous six Hindu philosophies.

Yugas : While Satya, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali are generally considered as the Mahāyugas, the life-span of one generation of mortals is supposed to constitute a Yuga.

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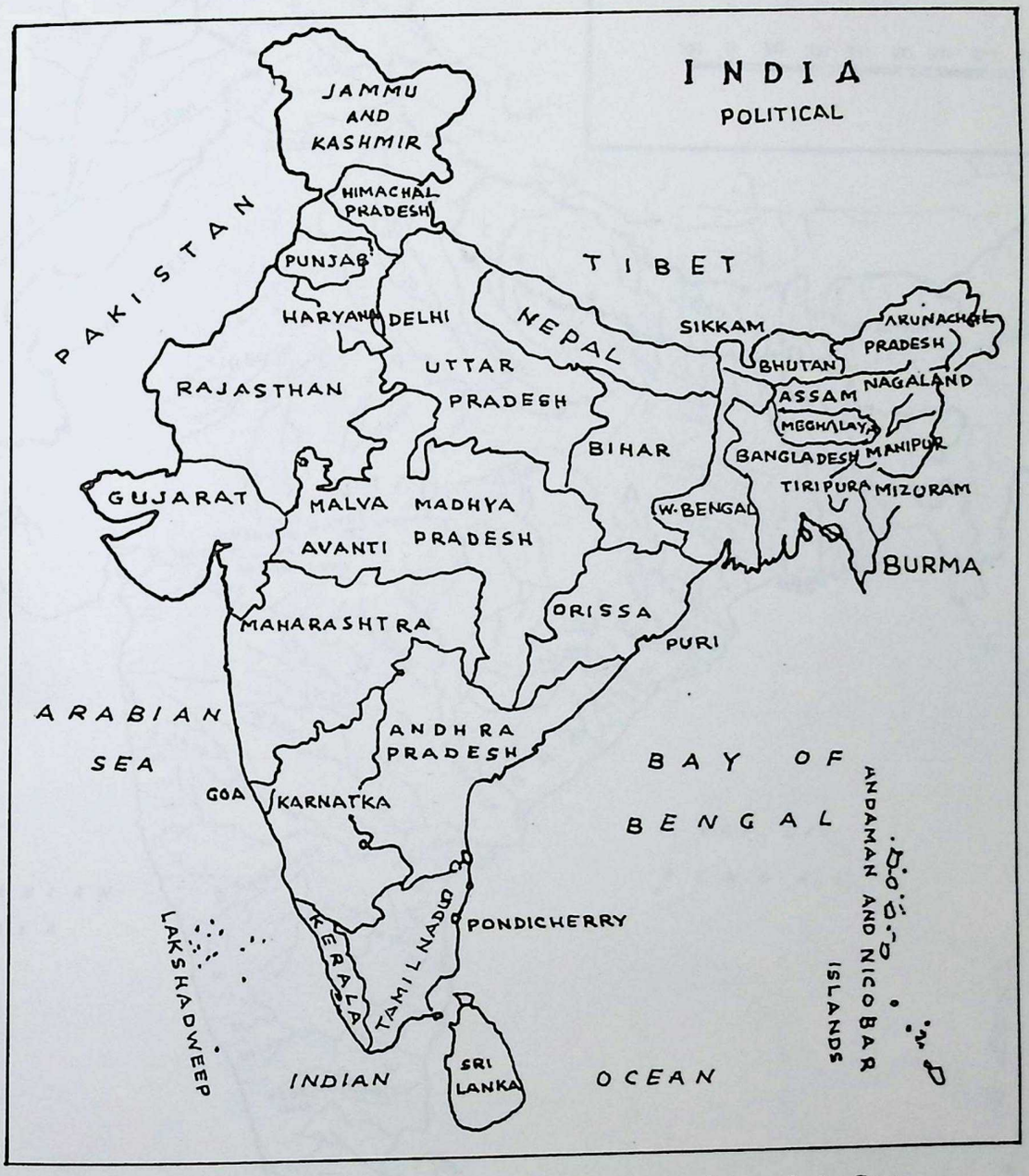

Map 1 : Political map of India showing Māḷava and Avanti, the State and its Capital of King Indradyumna

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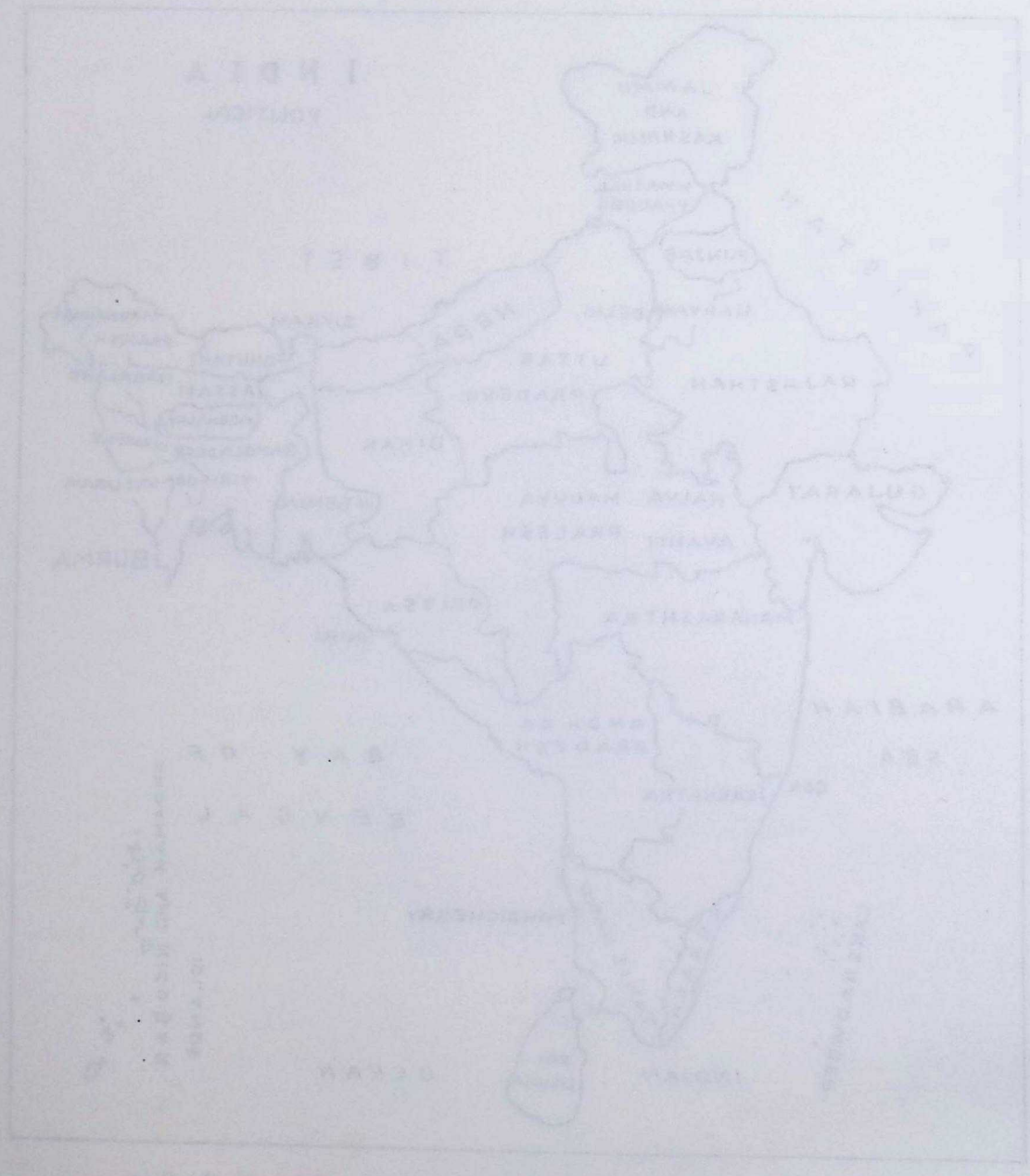

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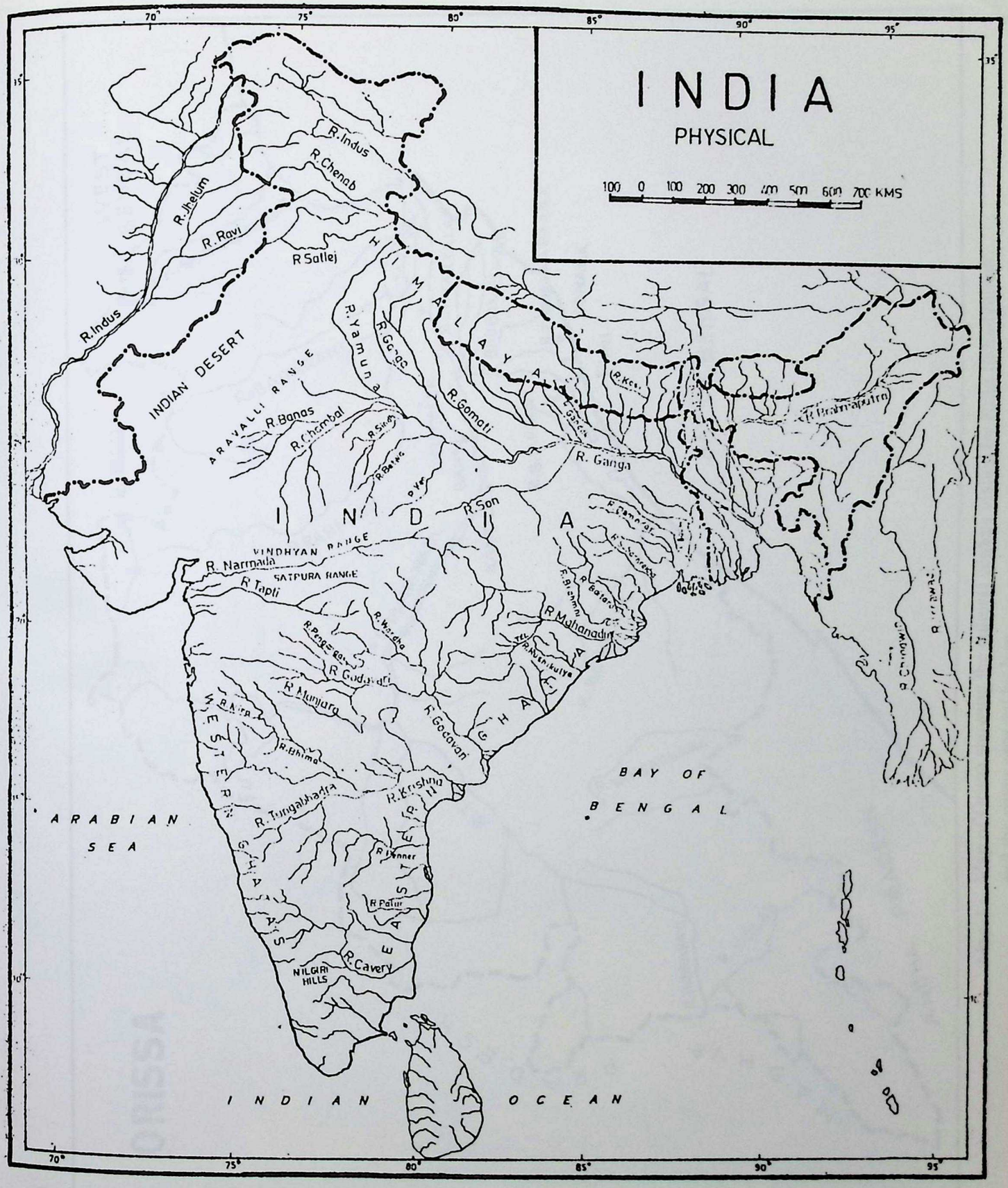

Map 2 : Physical map of India showing the rivers and the hills mentioned in the Nīlādri-Mahodayam

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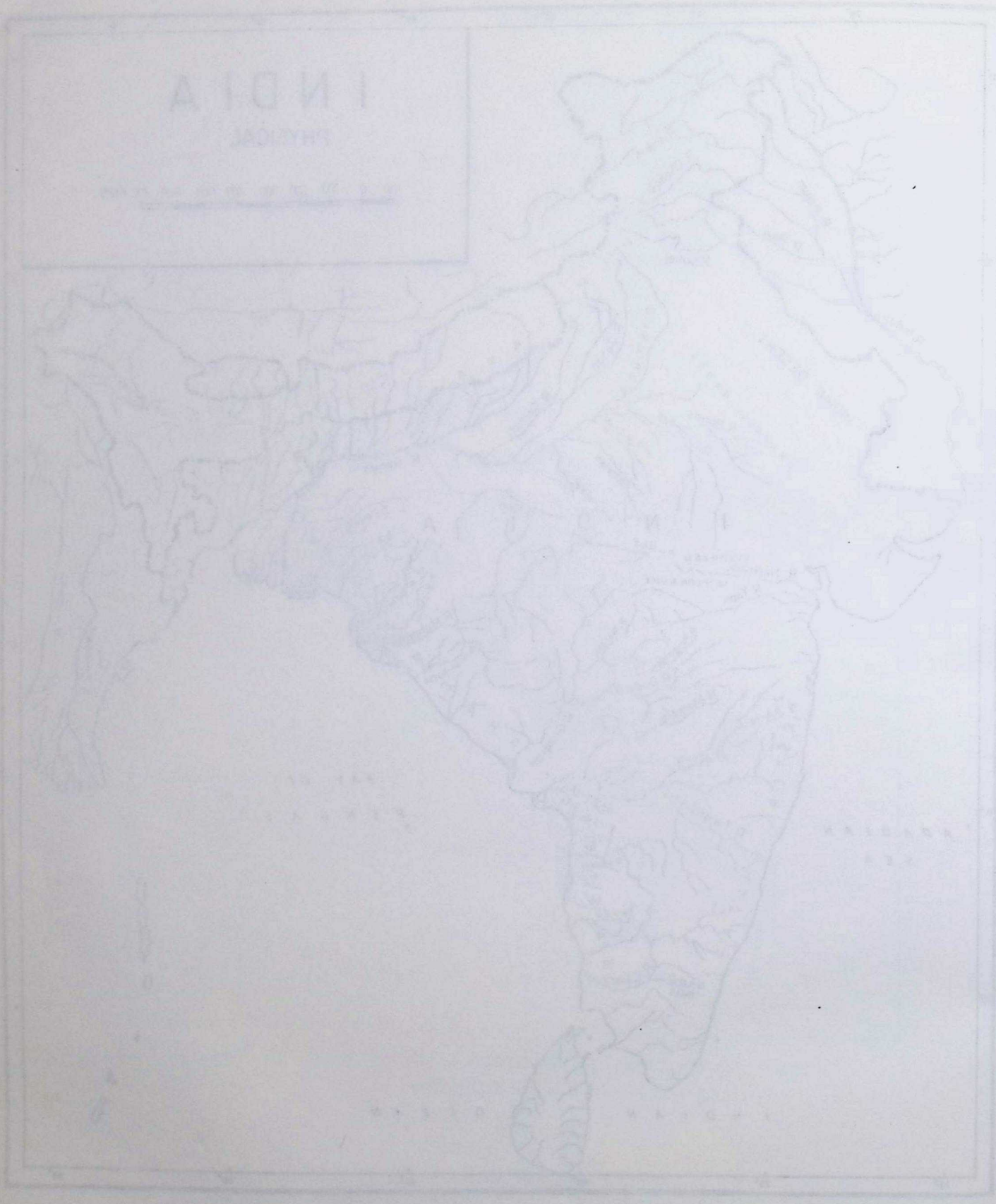

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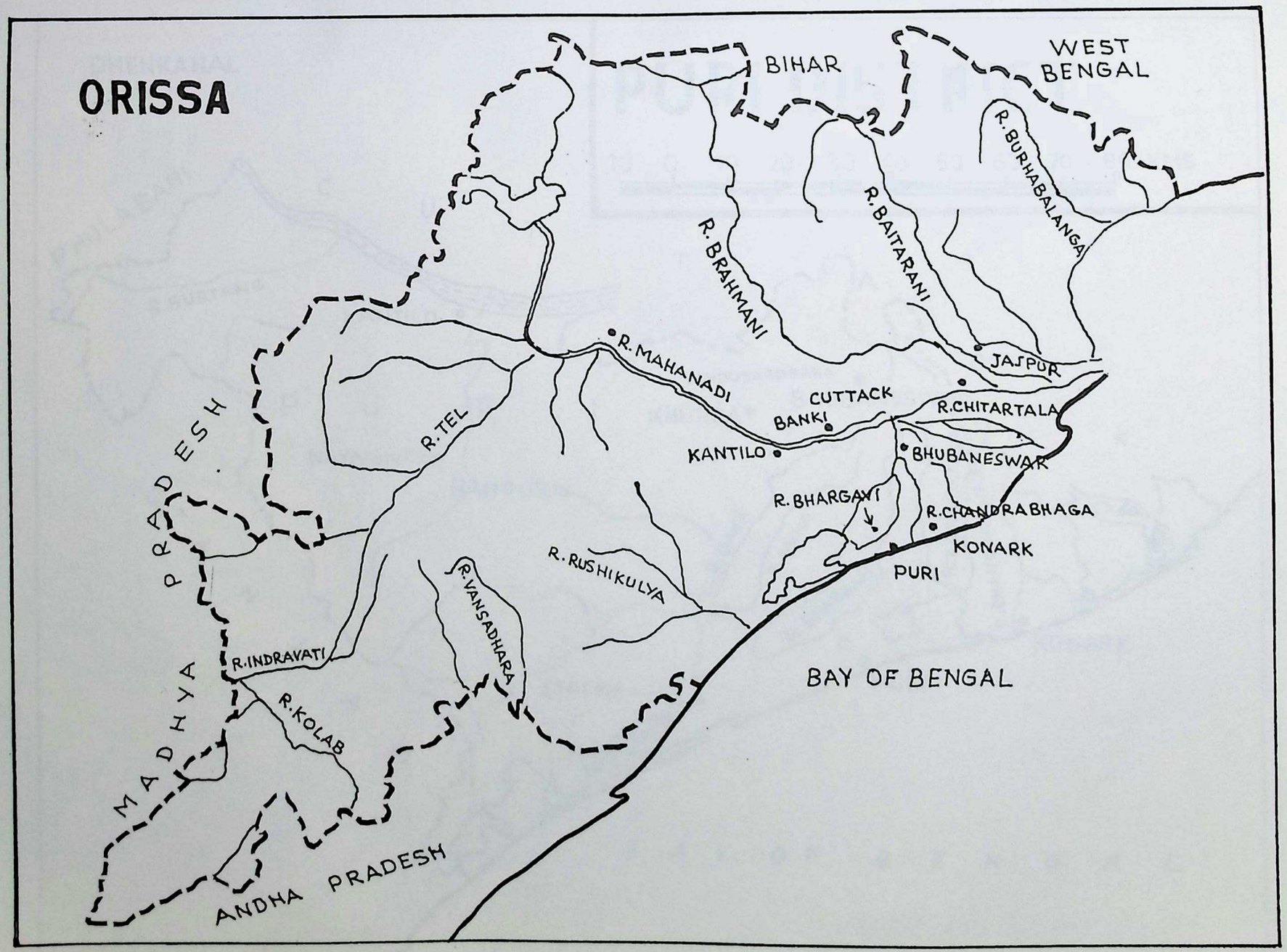

Map 3 : Map of Orissa showing the cultural centres visited by King Indradyumna and the rivers crossed by him

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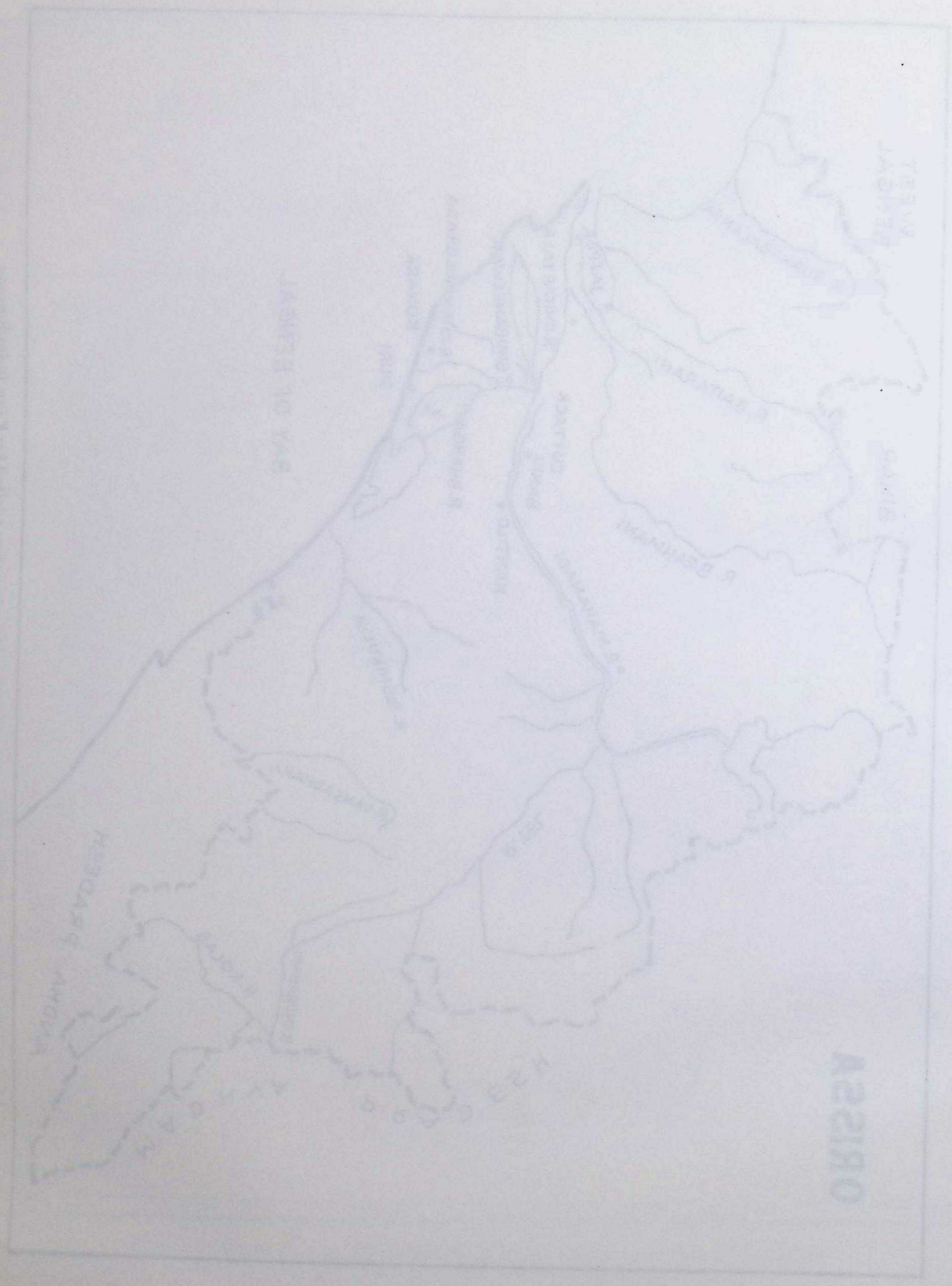

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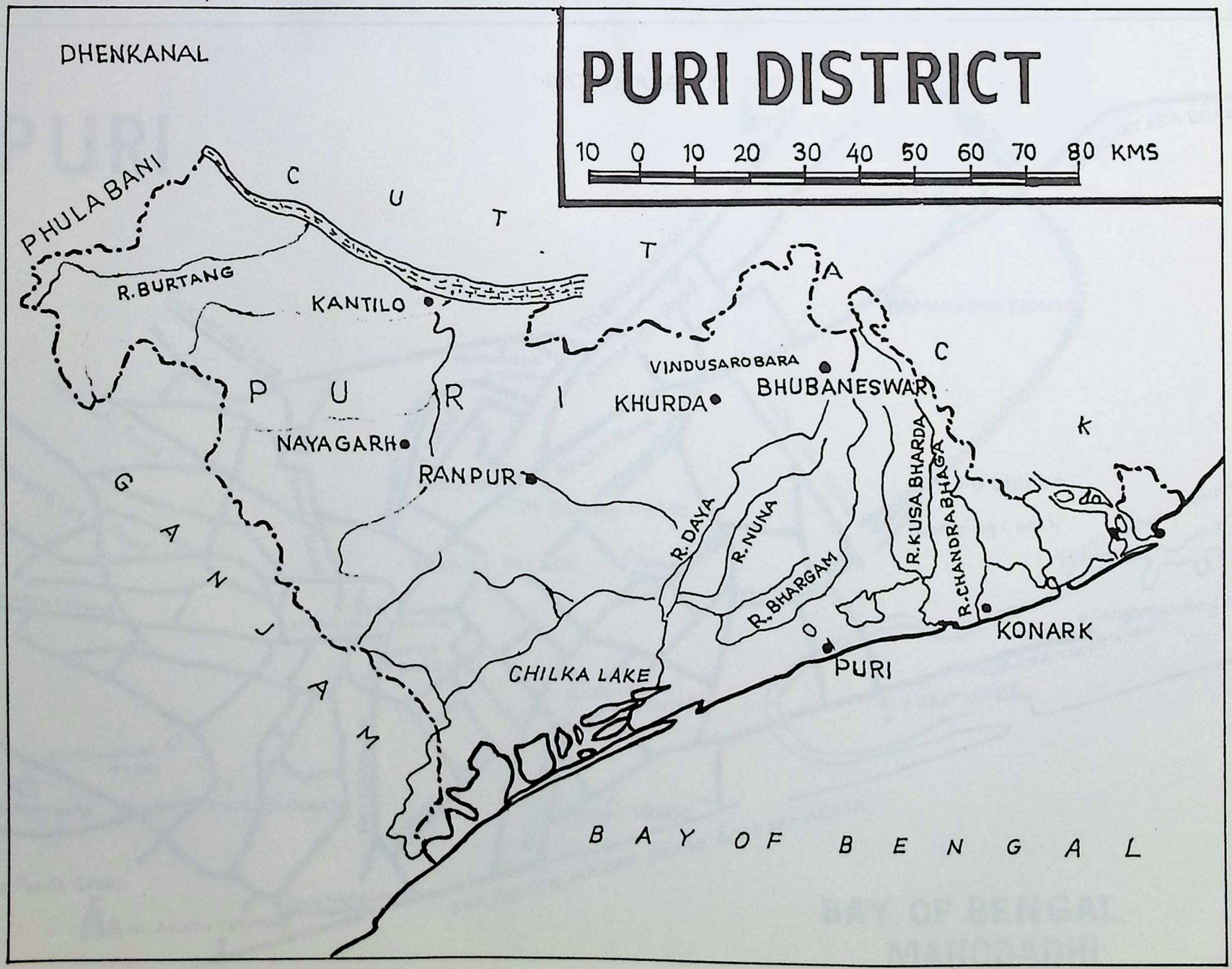

Map 4 : Map of Puri district showing the places, rivers, etc. depicted in the Nīlādri-Mahodayam

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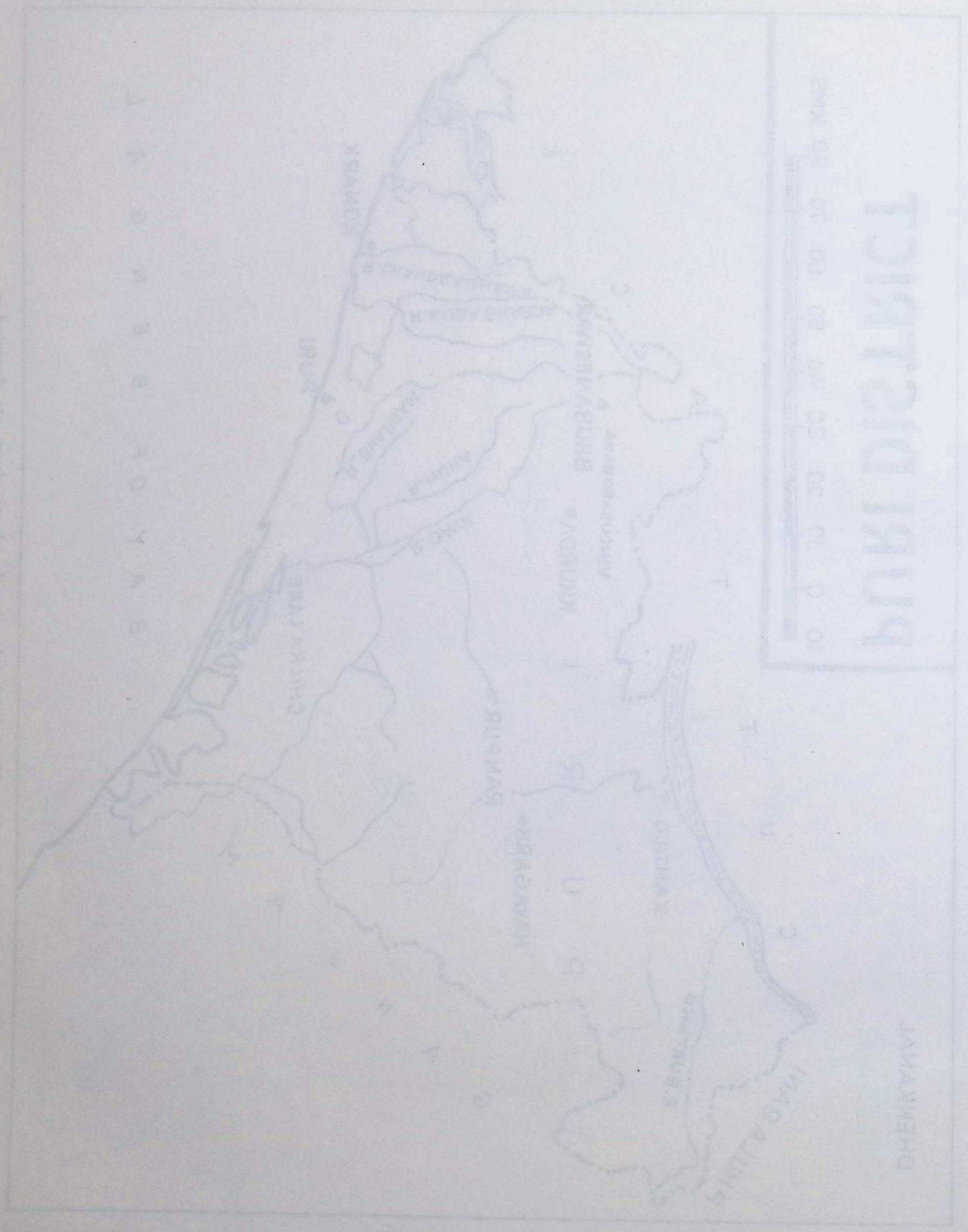

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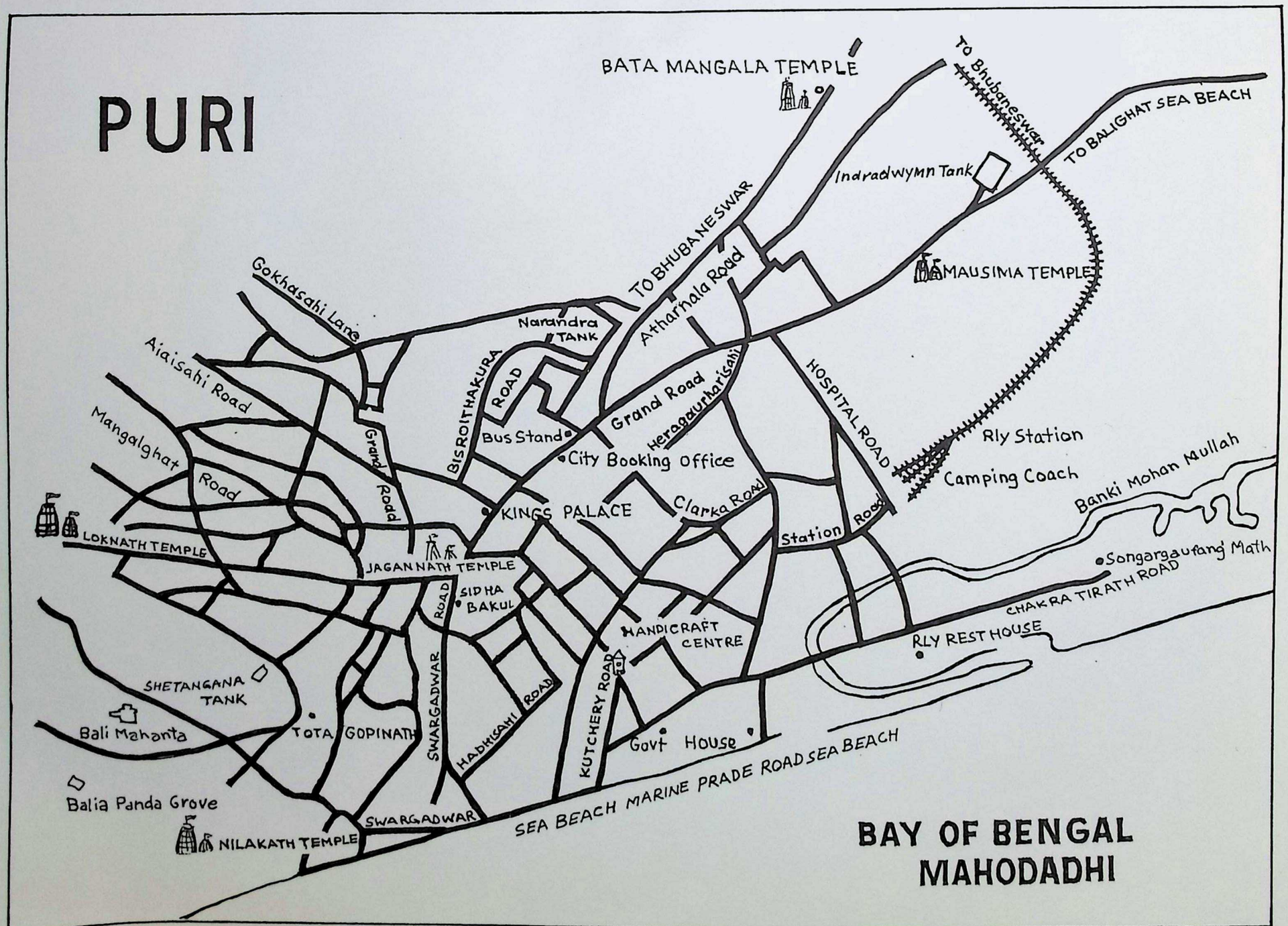

Map 5 : Map of Puri town showing the geography of Puruṣottama-Kṣetra as depicted in the Nīlādri-Mahodayam

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1 (a). Virajā temple (front view), Jajpur.

1 (b). Virajā temple (side view), Jajpur.

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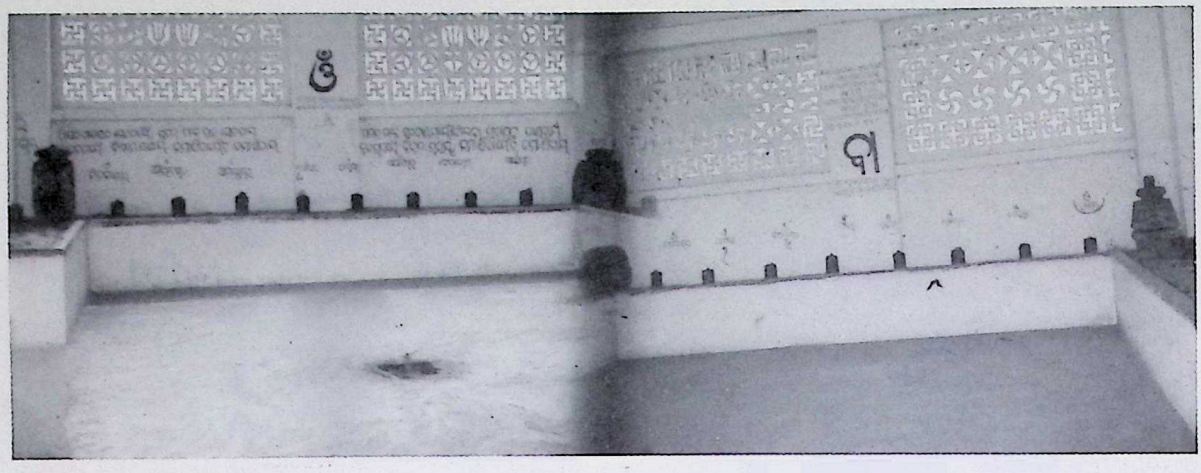
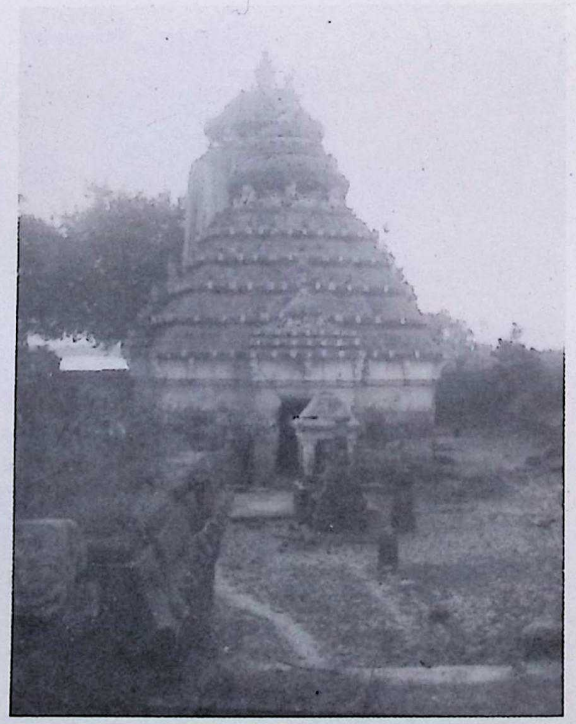


2 (a). Apūjāliṅgas inside Vīrajā temple.

2 (b). Fifty Four Apūjāliṅgas inside Virajā temple.



3. Mādhaveśvara (known as Siddhamādhava and situated inside the west compound of this temple of Siddheśvara.

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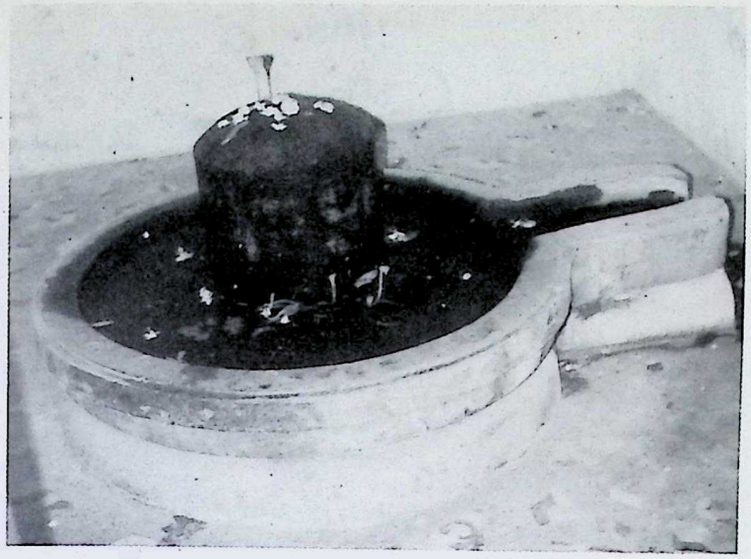
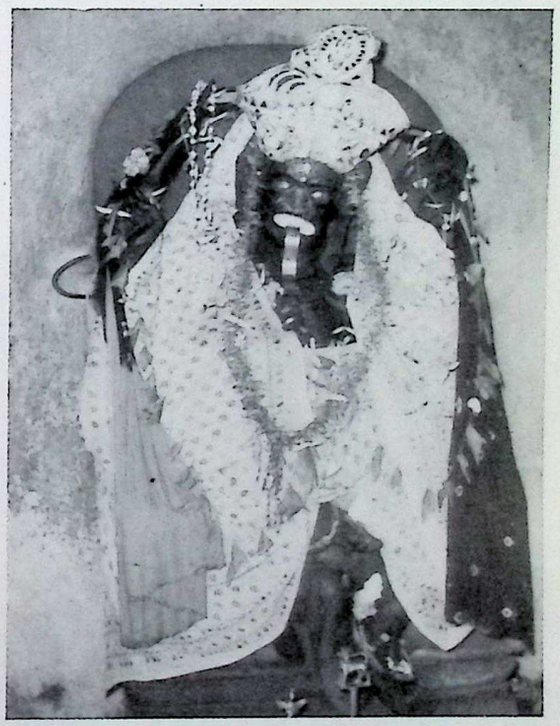


2 (c). Mahāśivaliṅga inside Virajā temple.



4 (a). Cāmuṇḍā

4 (b). Vaiṣṇavī

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4 (c). Kaumārī

4 (d). Indrāṇī

4 (e). Vārāhī

4 (f). Brāhmī

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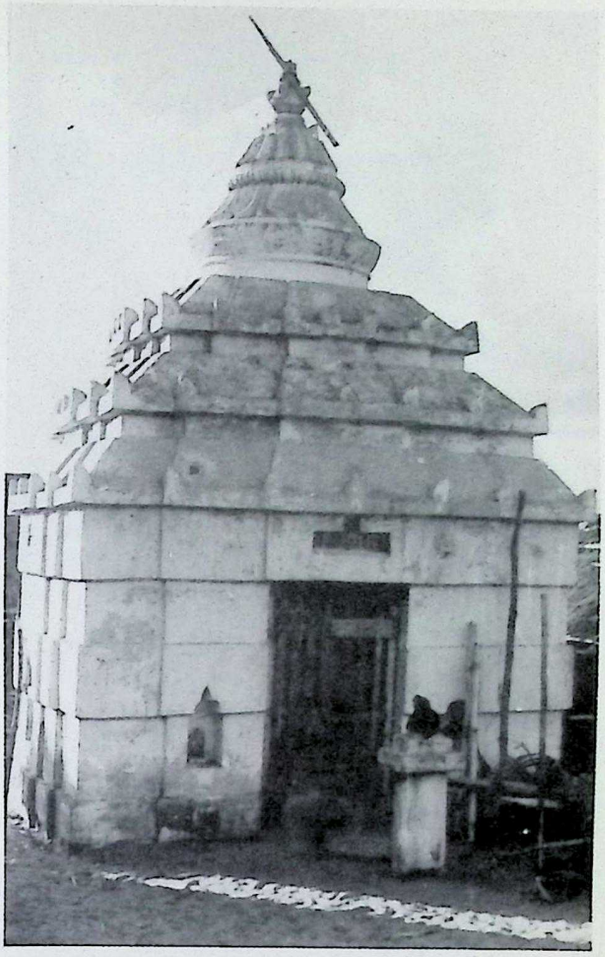
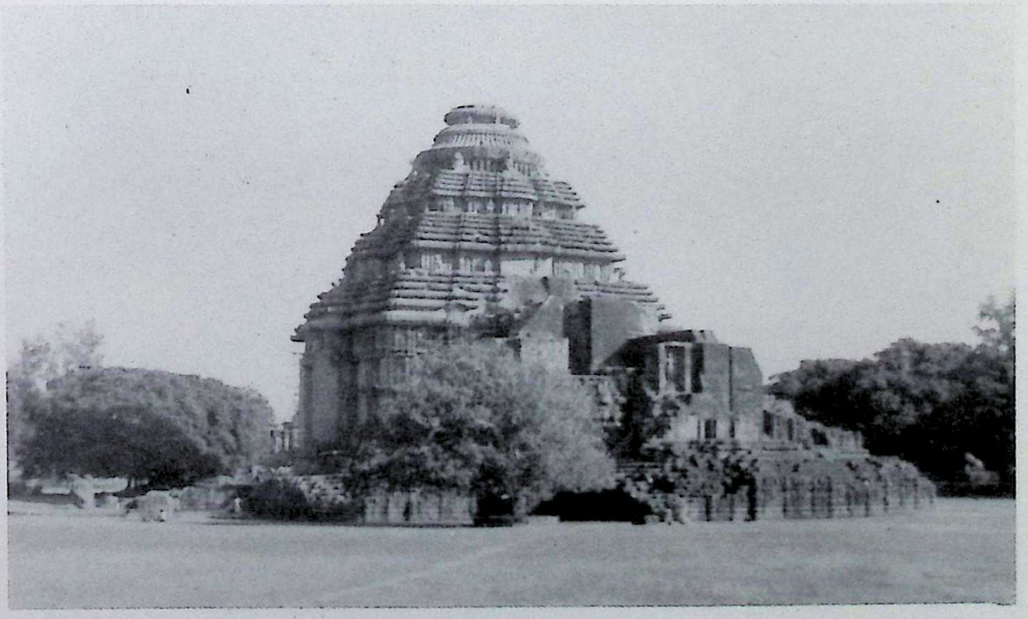
4 (g). Nārasiṁhī



6. Candrabhāgā temple, Koṇārka.



5. Koṇārka temple, Koṇārka.

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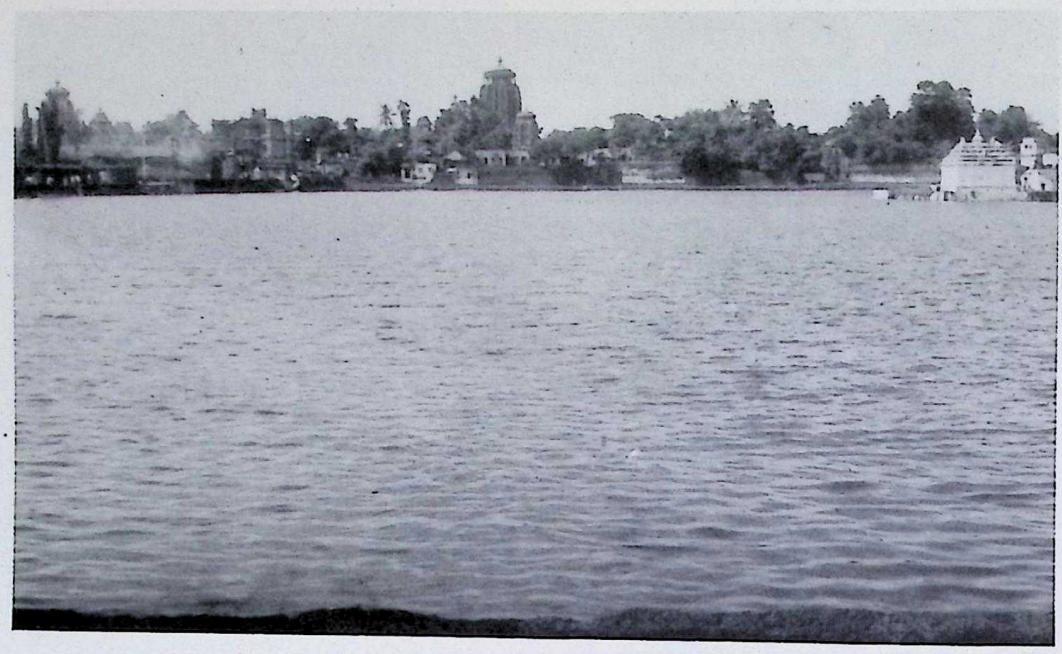
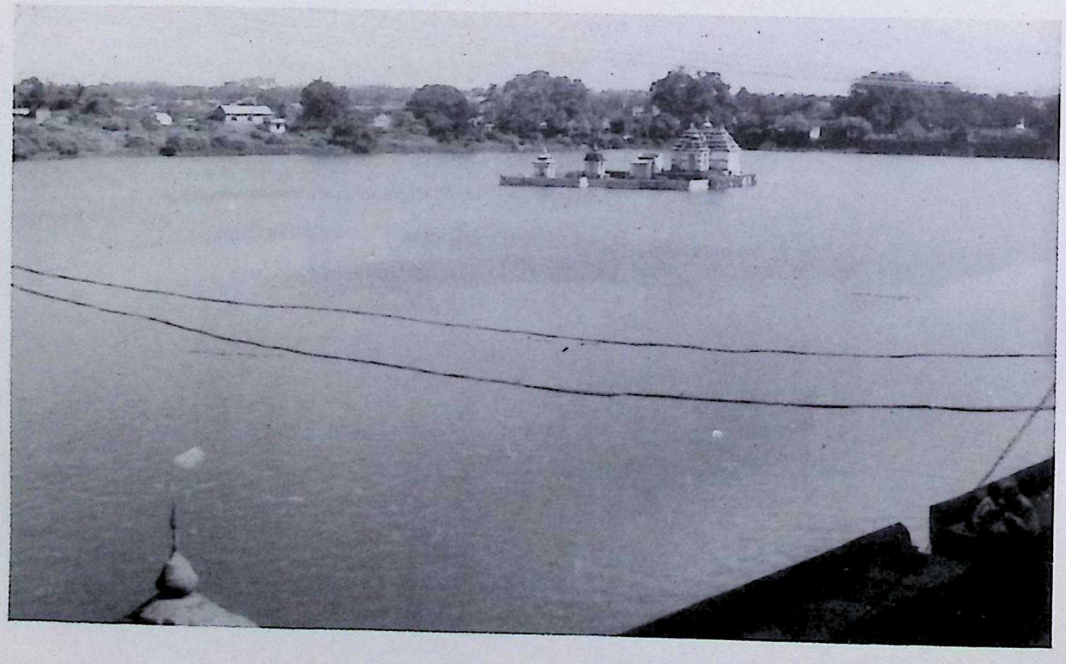


7 (a). Vindu Hrada, Bhubaneswar.



7 (b). Vindu Hrada (another view), Bhubaneswar.

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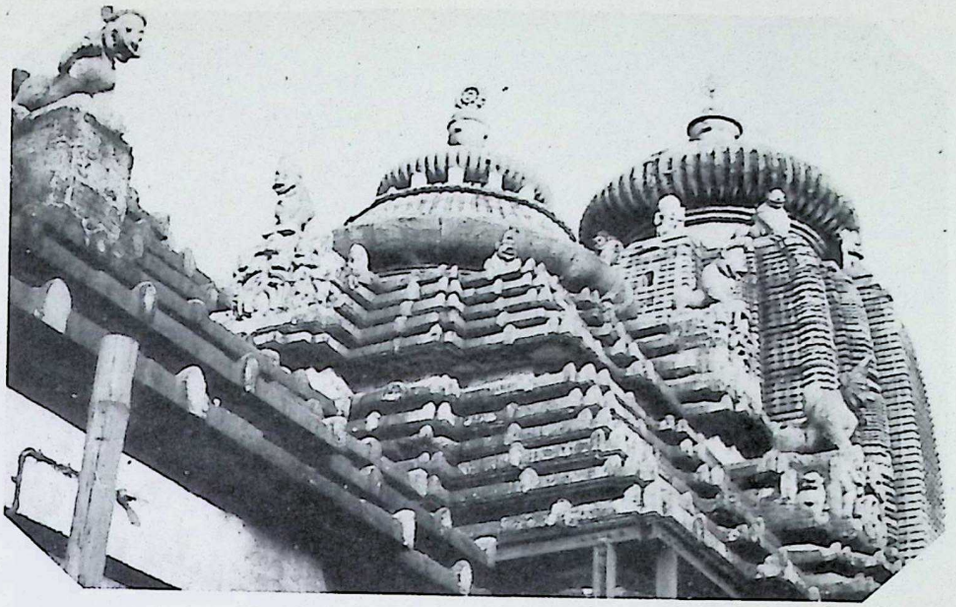

8 (a). Ananta-Vāsudeva Temple, Bhubaneswar.

8 (b). Main temple of Ananta-Vāsudeva, Bhubaneswar.

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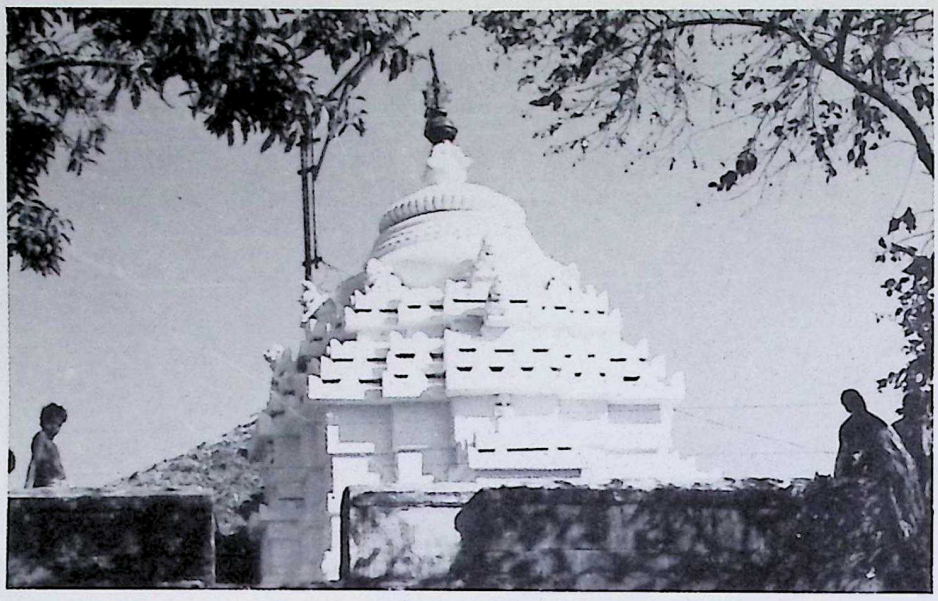
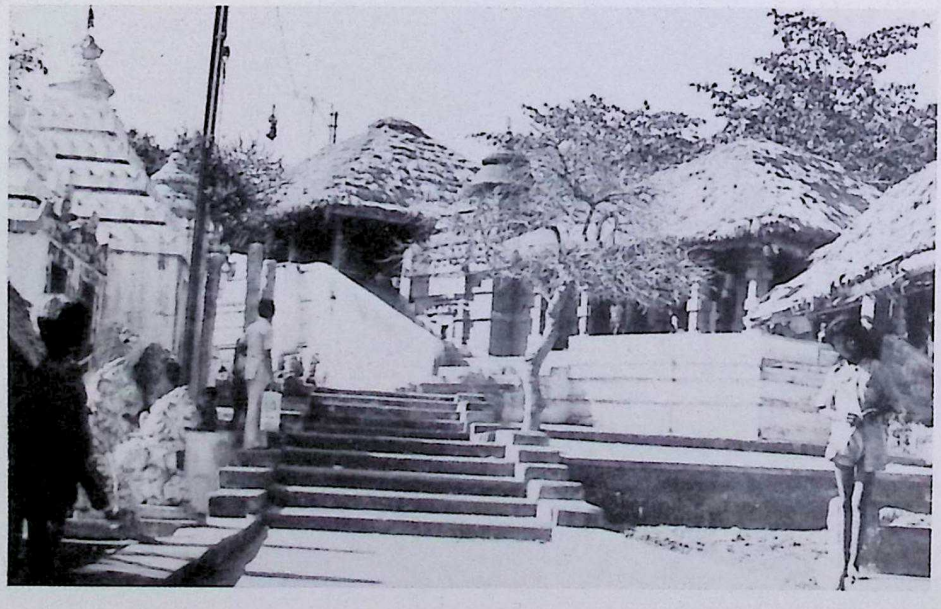


9 (a). Carcikā temple (main temple), Banki.



9 (b). Carcikā temple with its compound, Banki.

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9 (c). The Goddess Carcikā (outside image), Banki.

10 (a). Liṅgarāja temple, Bhubaneswar.

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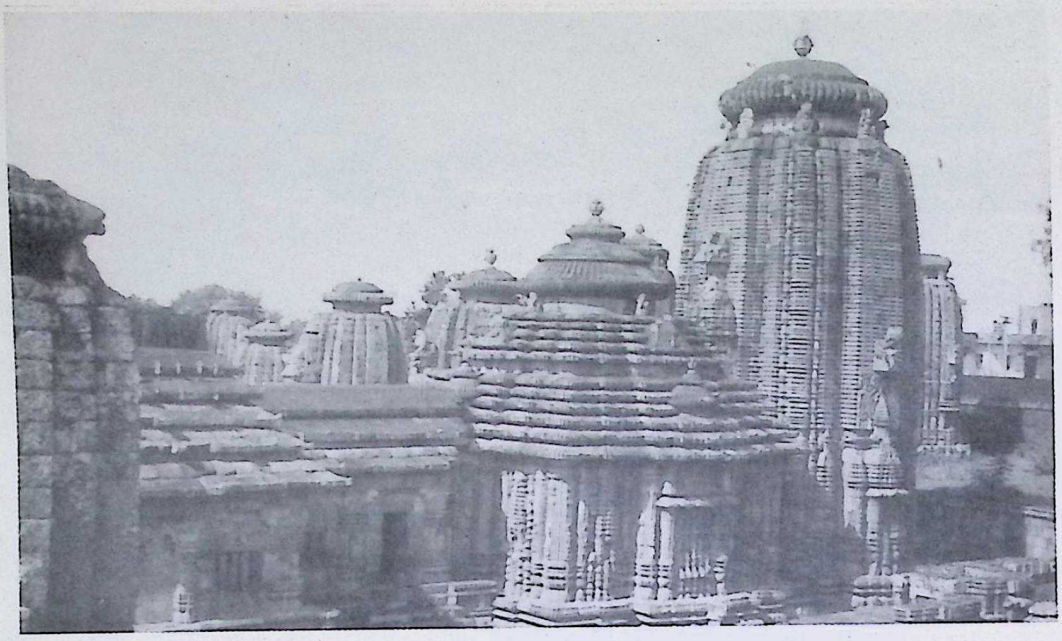
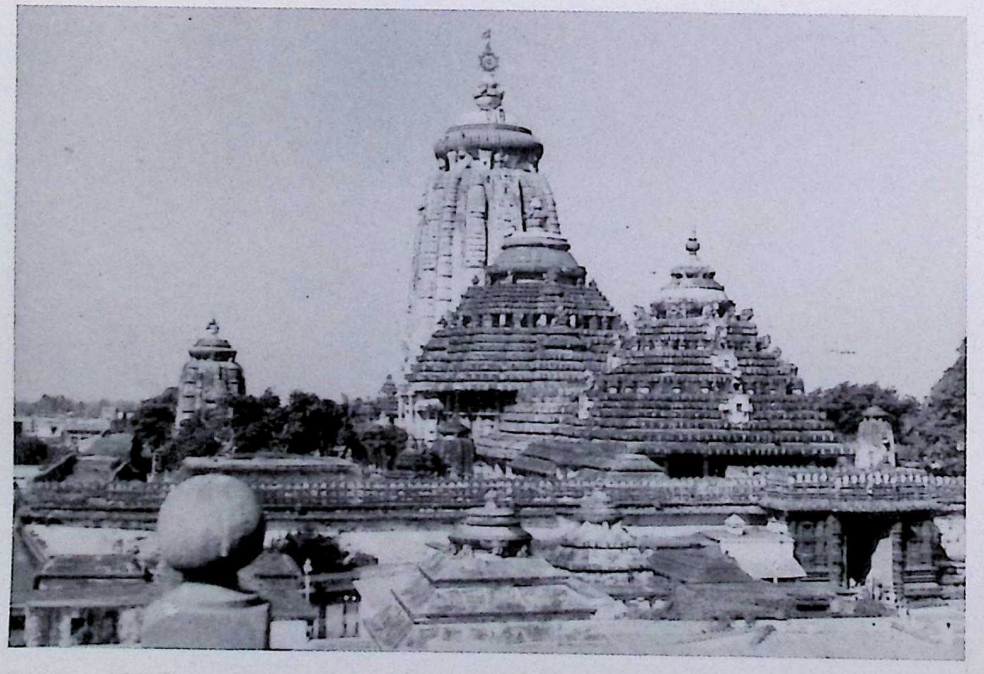


10 (b). Liṅgarāja temple (side view), Bhubaneswar.



11. Śrī Jagannātha temple, Puri.

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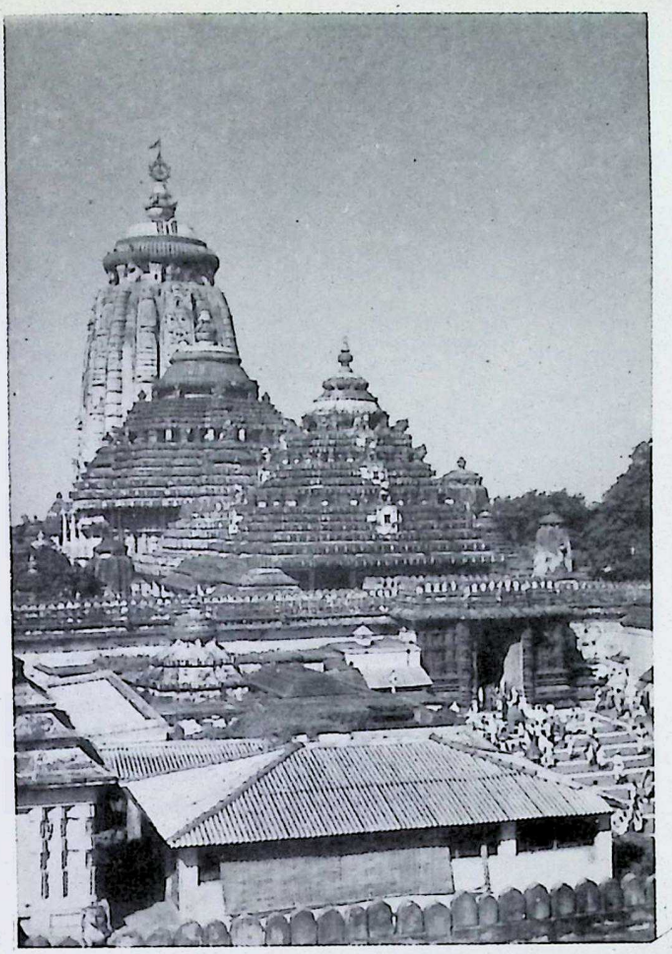

12. Śrī Jagannātha temple with twenty-two steps, Puŕi.

13. Lion's gate of Jagannātha temple, Puri.

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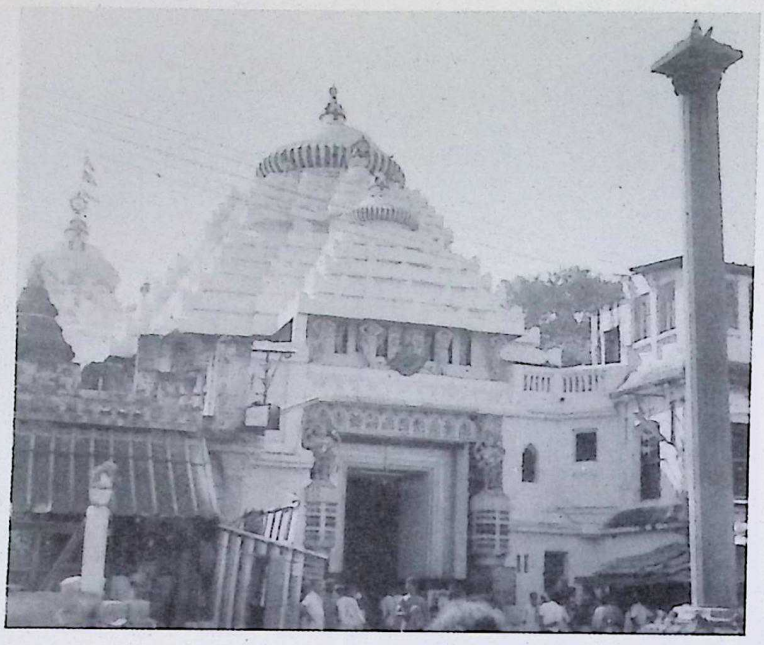

14. Sun-pillar in front of the Lion's Gate of Jagannātha temple, Puri.

15. Mahodadhi (Bay of Bengal), Puri.

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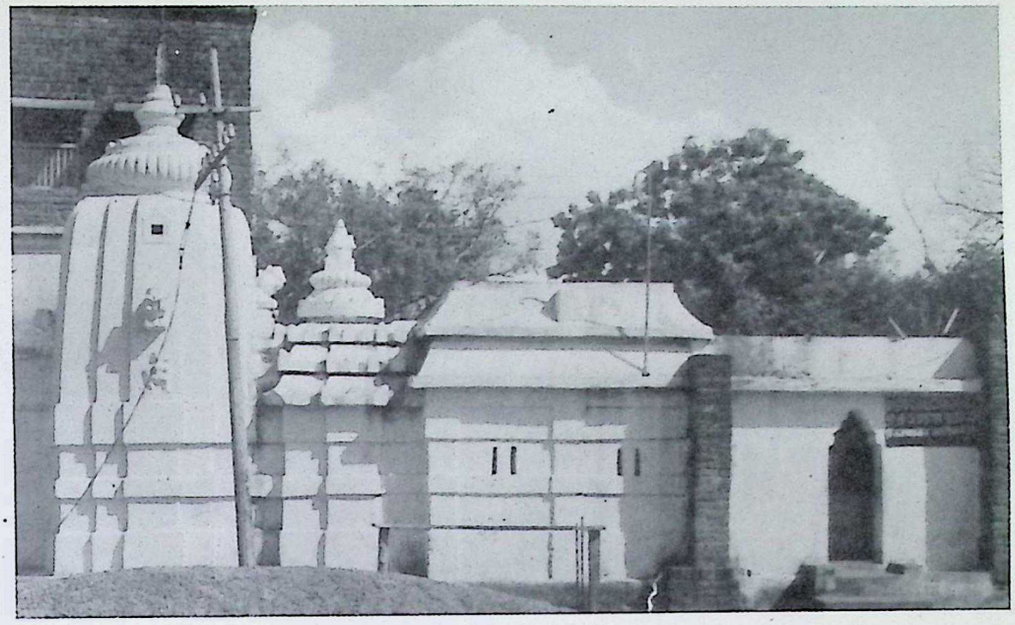
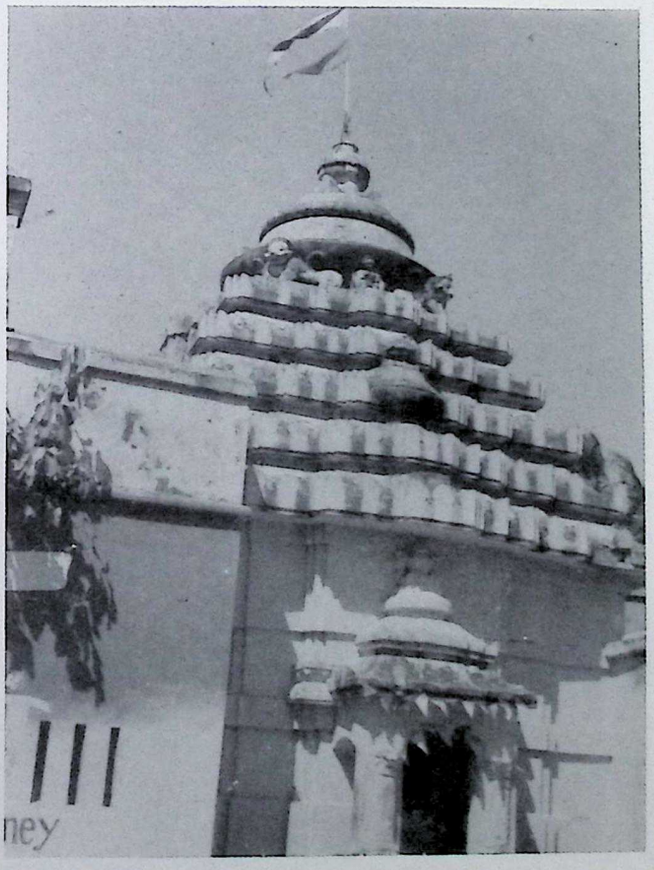


16. Māusīmā temple, Puri.



17. Nīlakaṇṭha temple, Puri.

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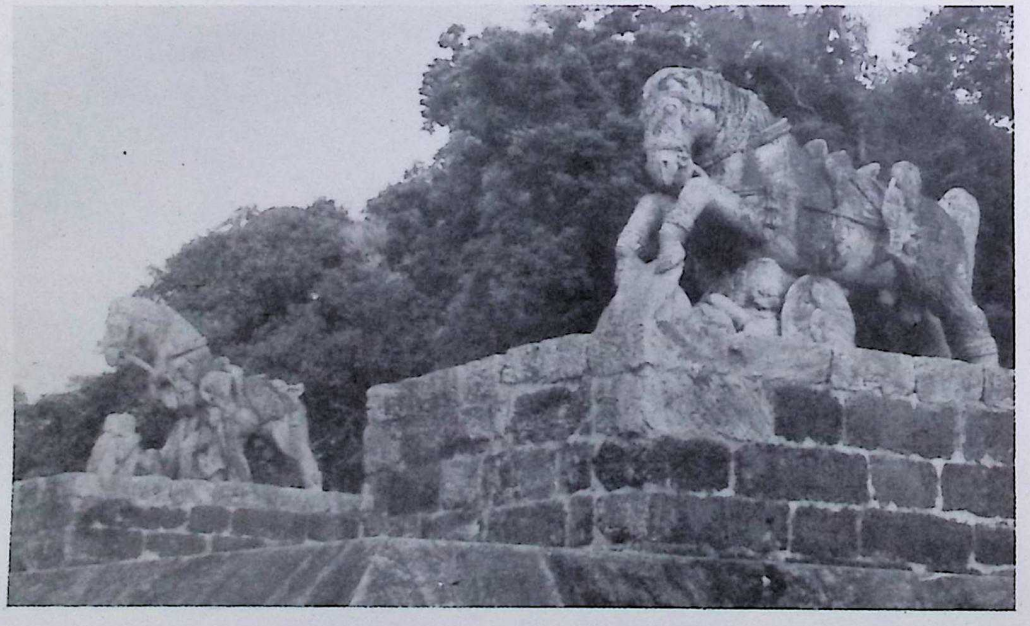
18. Nīḷamādhava temple, Kantilo.



19. Koṇārka-Horse, Koṇārka.

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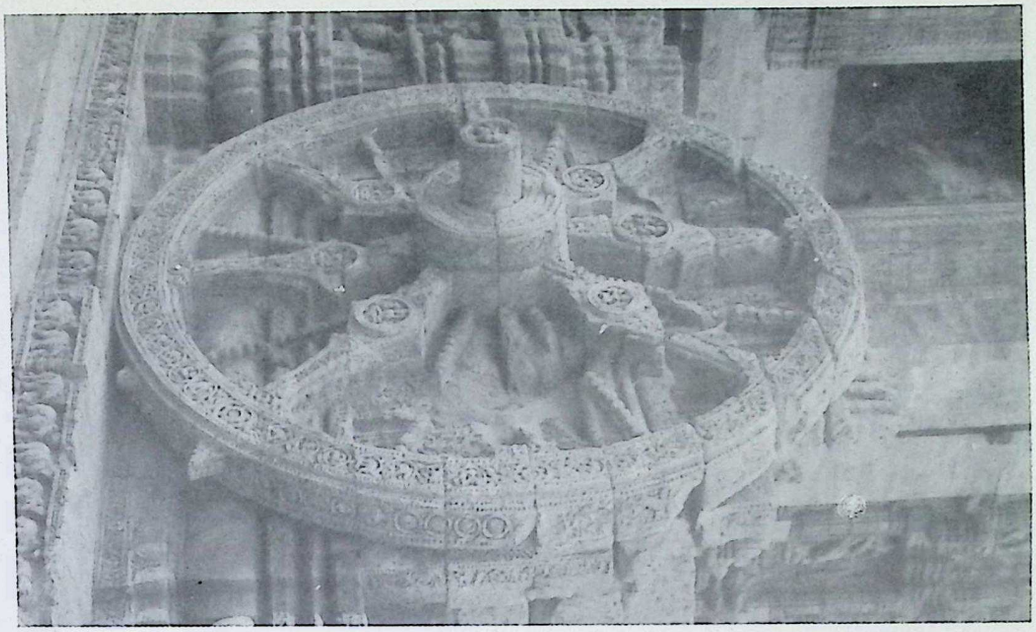

20. Koṇārka-Wheel, Koṇārka.

21. Guṇḍicā temple, Puri.

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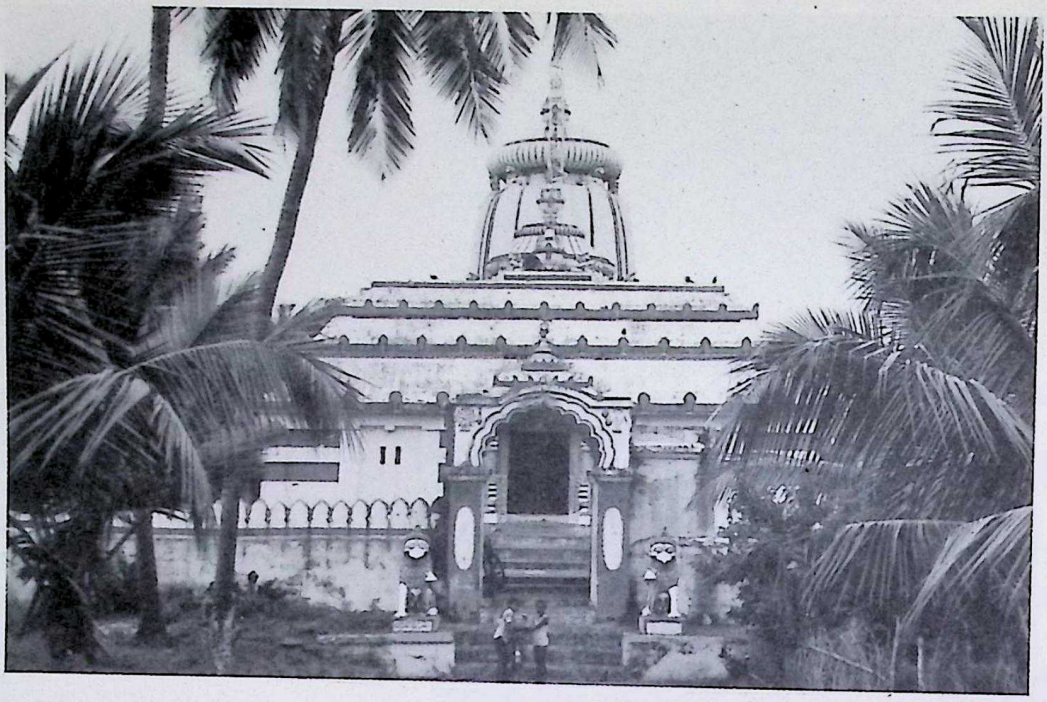
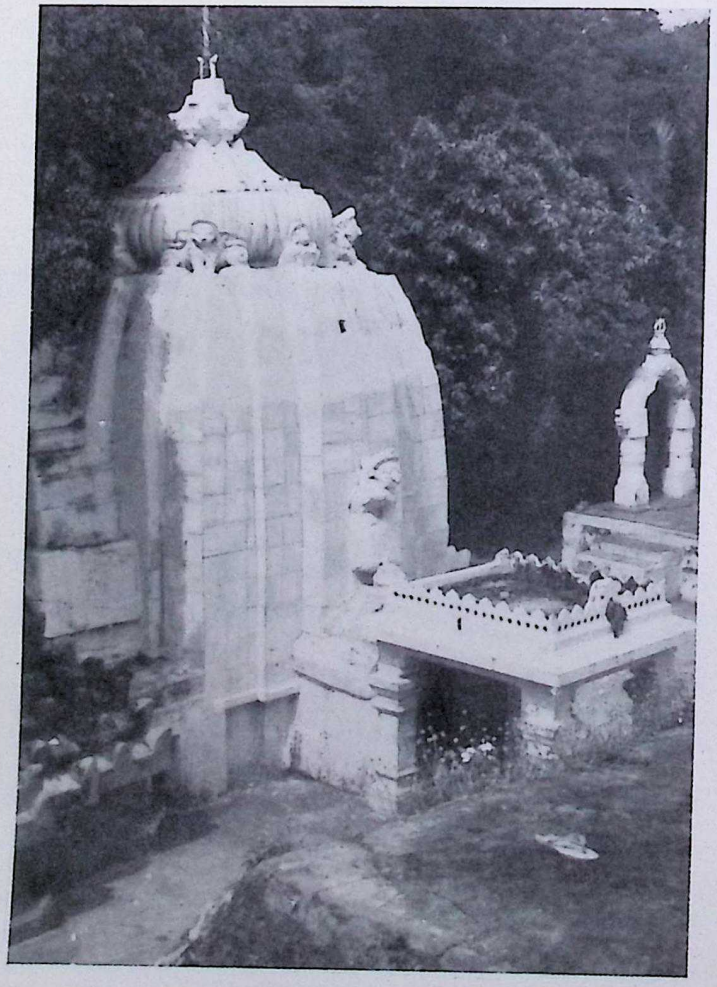


22. Nrsiṁha temple, Puri.



23. Lokanātha temple, Puri.

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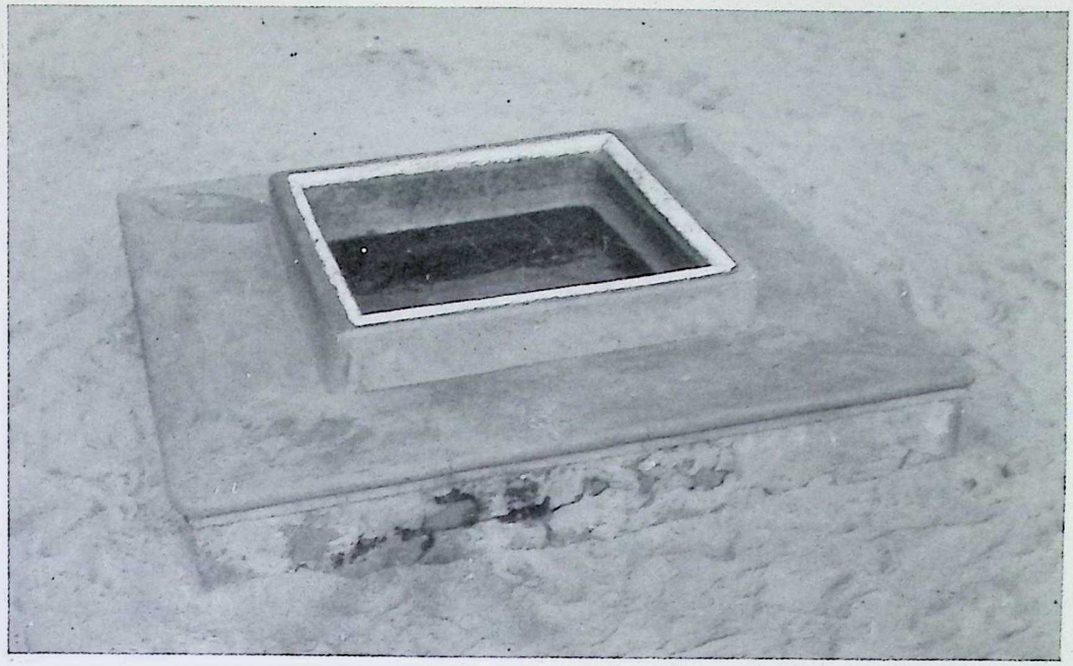

24 (a). Cakra Tīrtha (Kuṇḍa), Puri.

24 (b). Cakra Tīrtha (temple of Cakra Nārāyaṇa), Puri.

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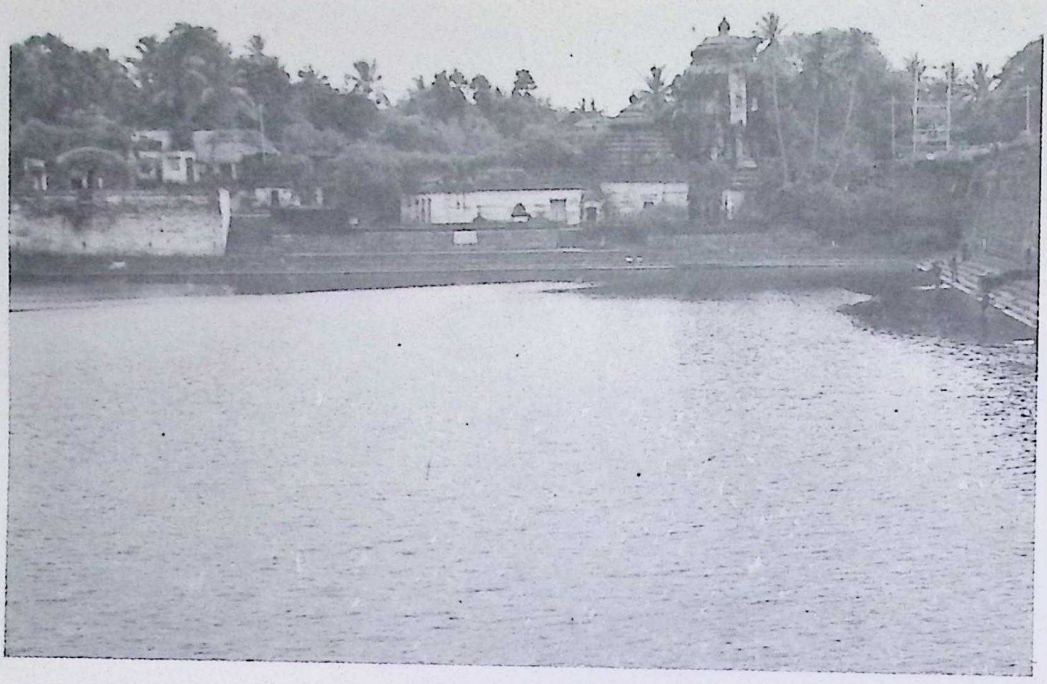
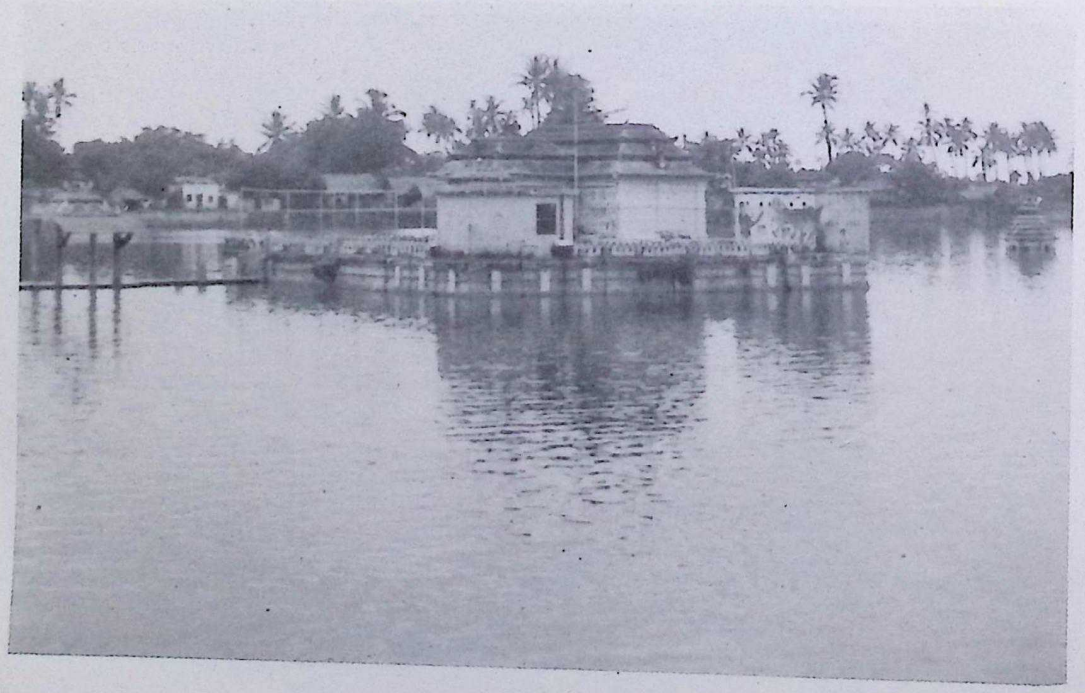


25. Mārkaṇḍeya Hrada (tank), Puri.



26. Narendra tank, Puri.

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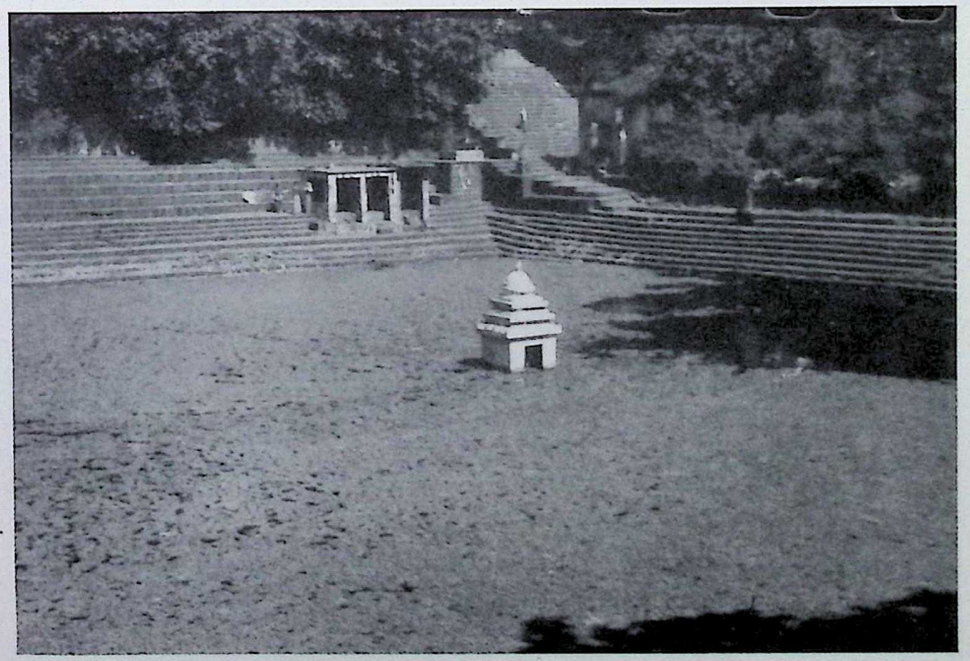
27. Indradyumna tank, Puri.



28. Svetagaṅgā, Puri.

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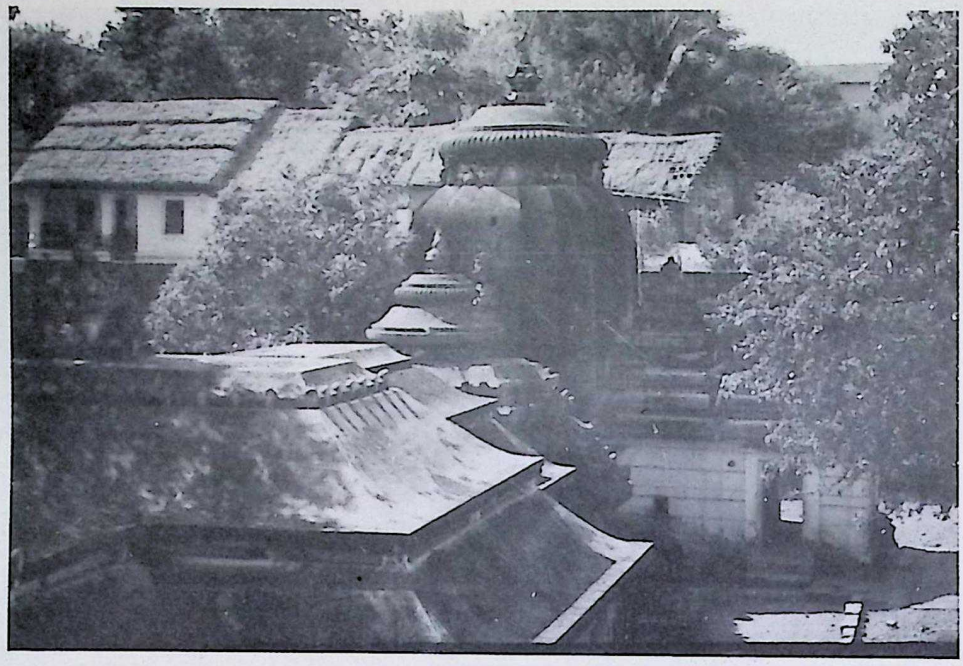
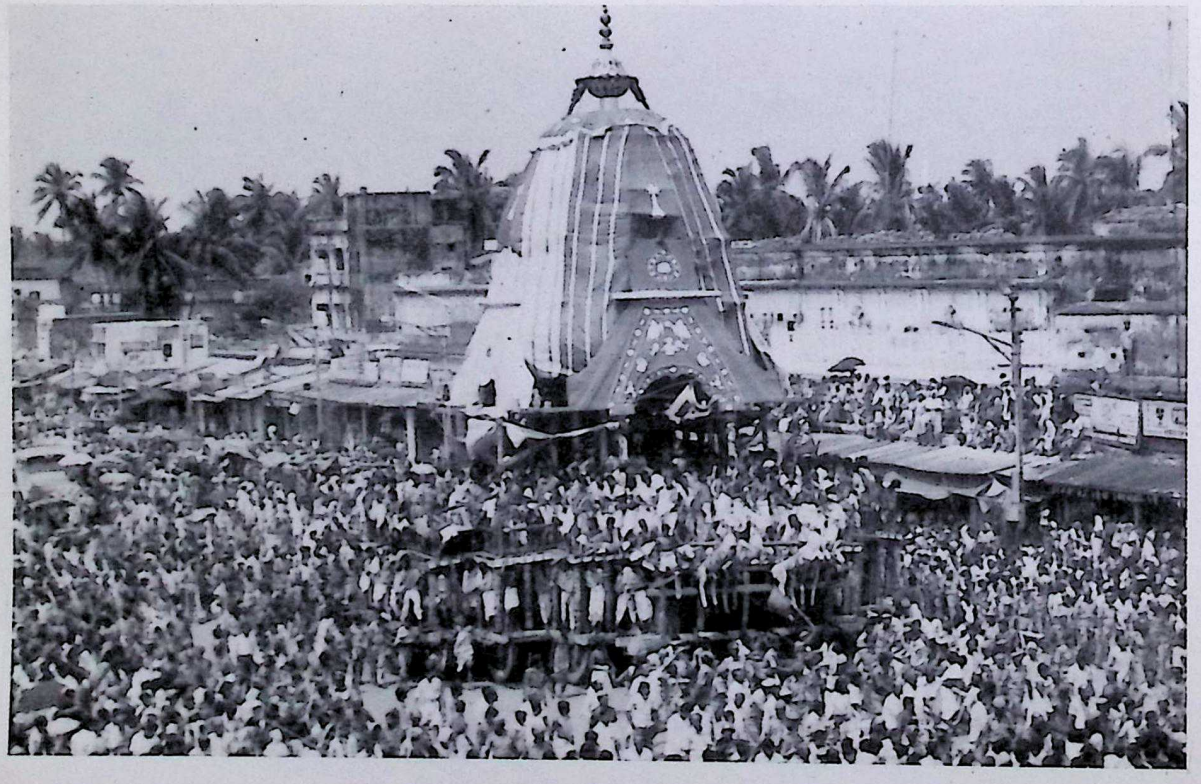


29. Yameśvara temple, Puri



30. Car Festival of Lord Jagannātha (the Car Nandighoṣa is in the view), Puri.

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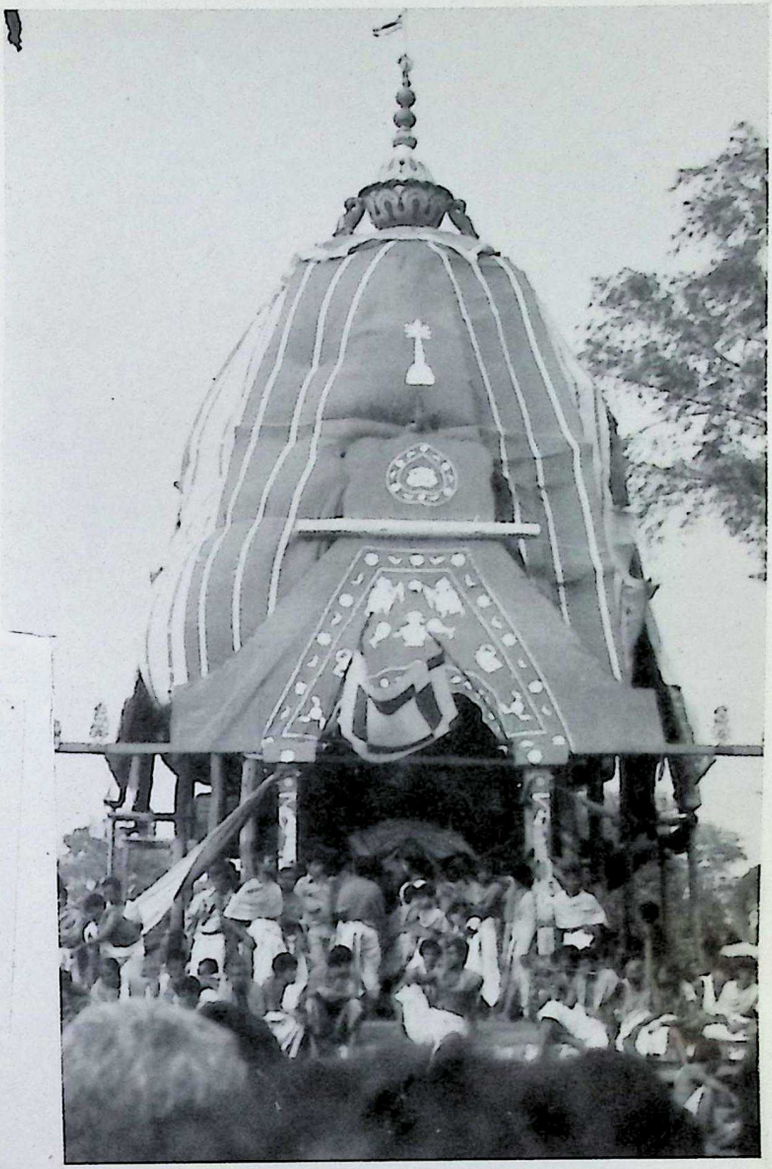
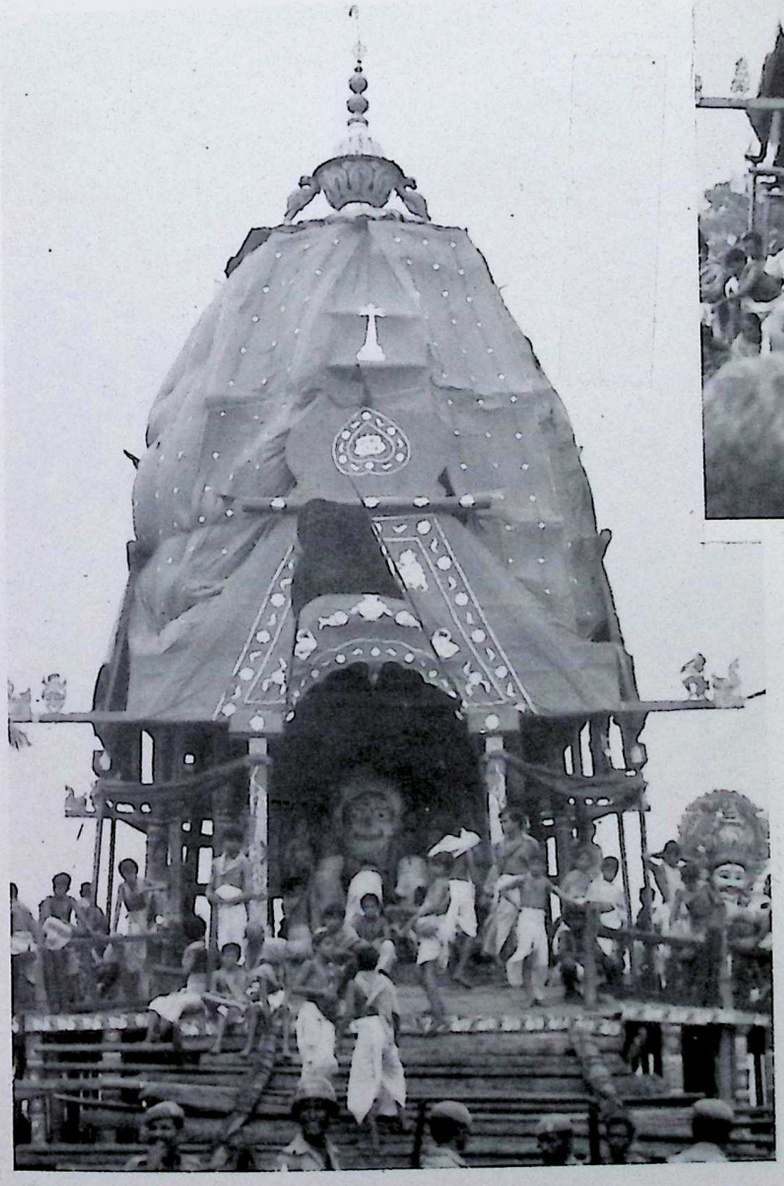


31. The Car of Lord Jagannātha (Nandighoṣa), Puri.



32. The Car of Balabhadra (Tāḷadhvaja), Puri.

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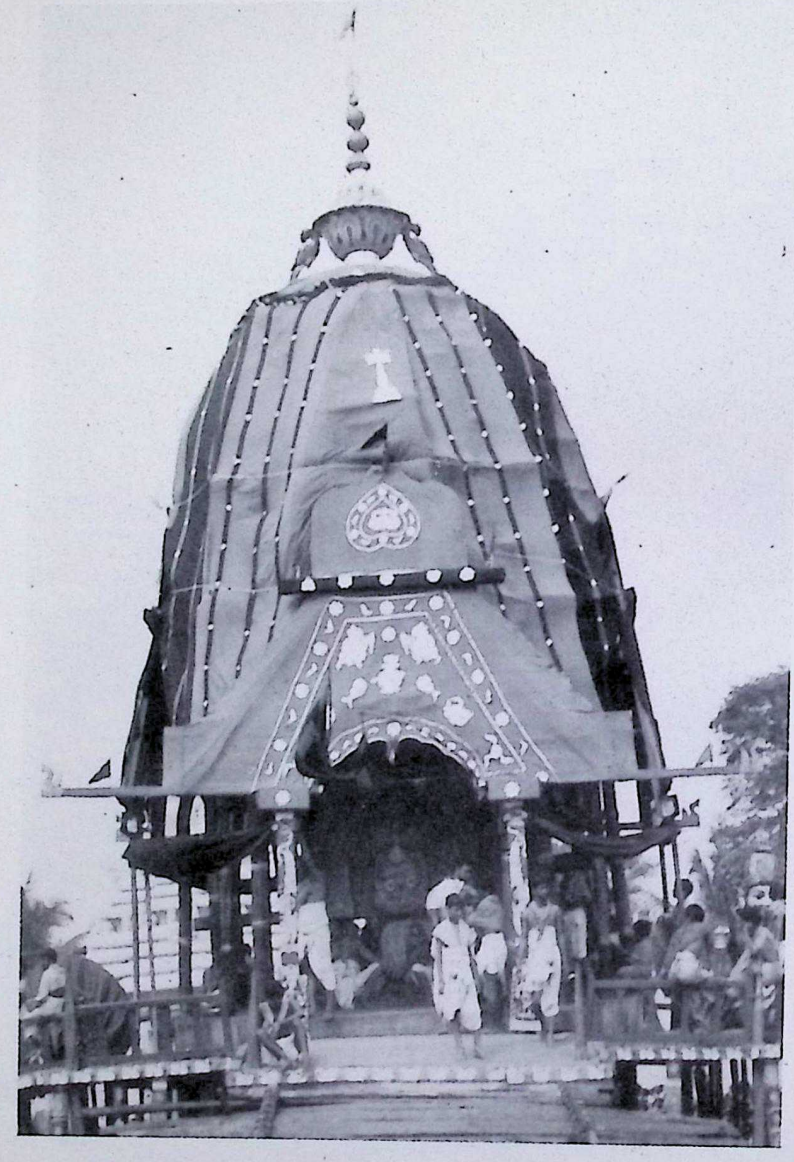

33. The Car of Subhadrā (Devadaḷana), Puri.

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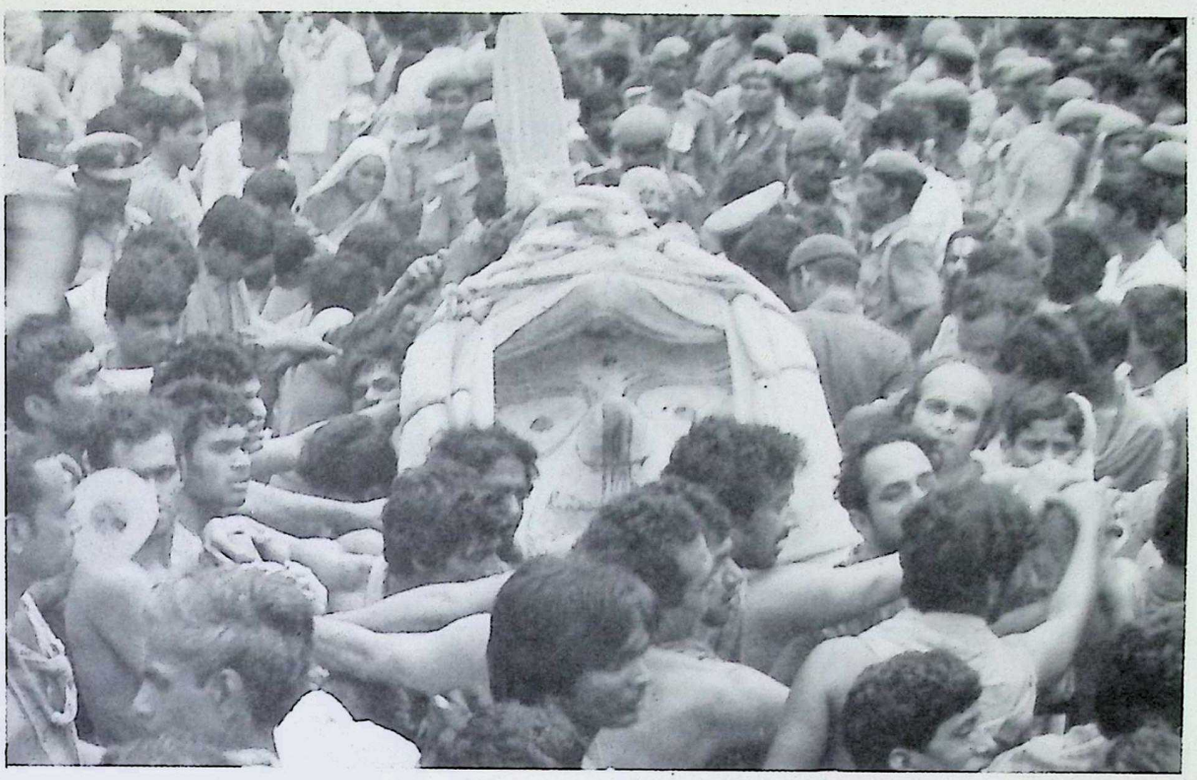
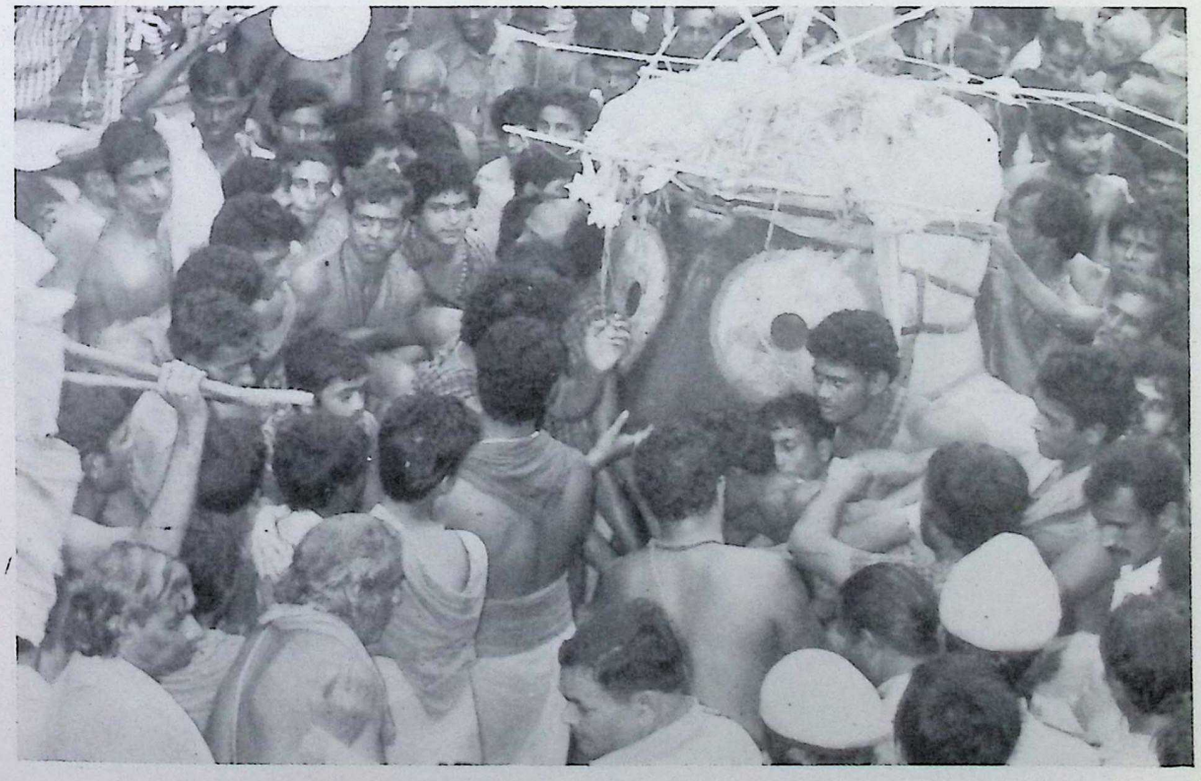


34. Pahaṇḍi of Balabhadra (during Guṇḍicā Yātrā), Puri.



35. Pahaṇḍi of Jagannātha (during Guṇḍicā Yātrā), Puri.

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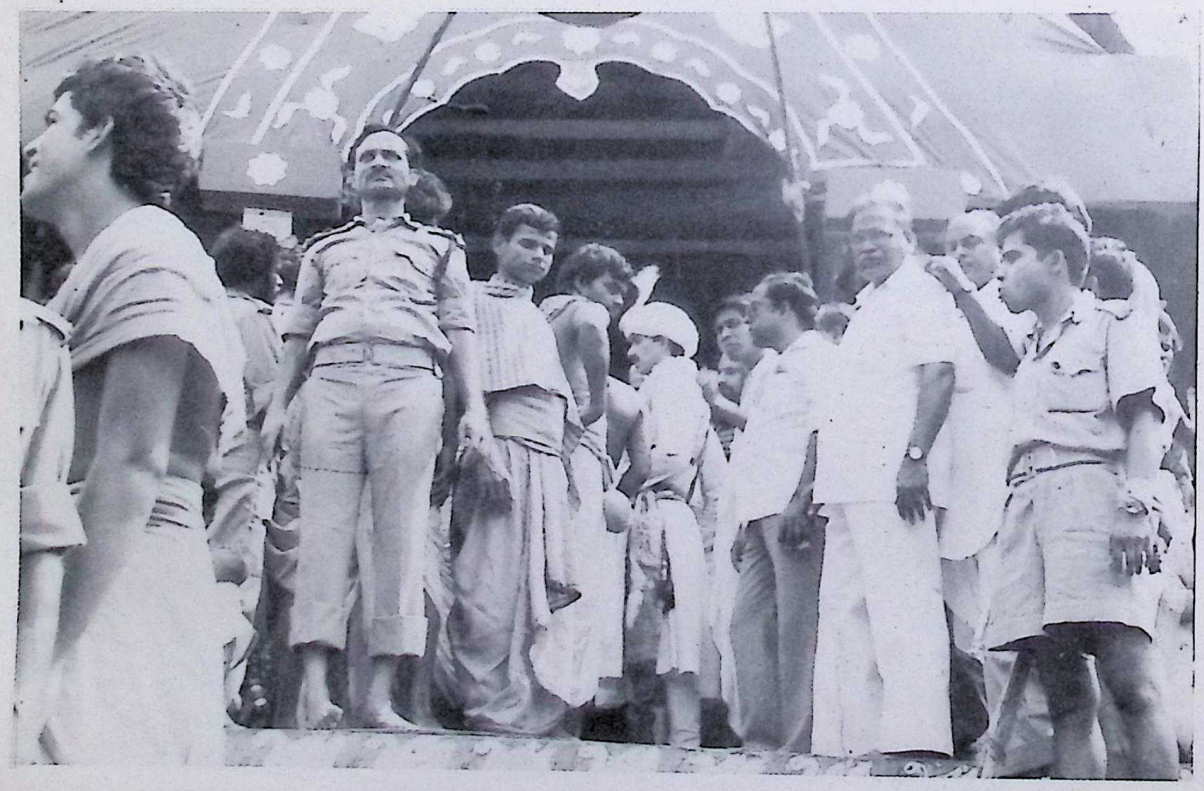
36. Pahaṇḍi of Subhadrā (during Guṇḍicā Yātrā), Puri.



38. Cherāpahanrā is being carried out by the king of Puri.

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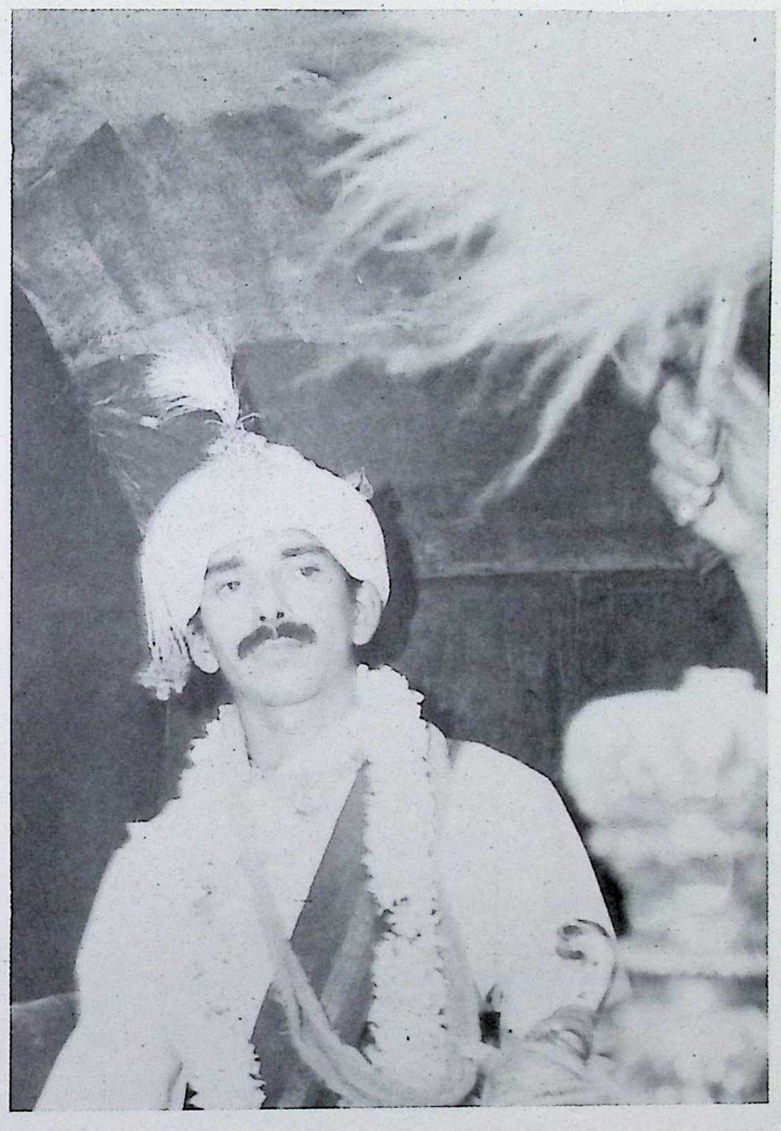

37. King of Puri on the way to
Cherāpahanrā, Puri.

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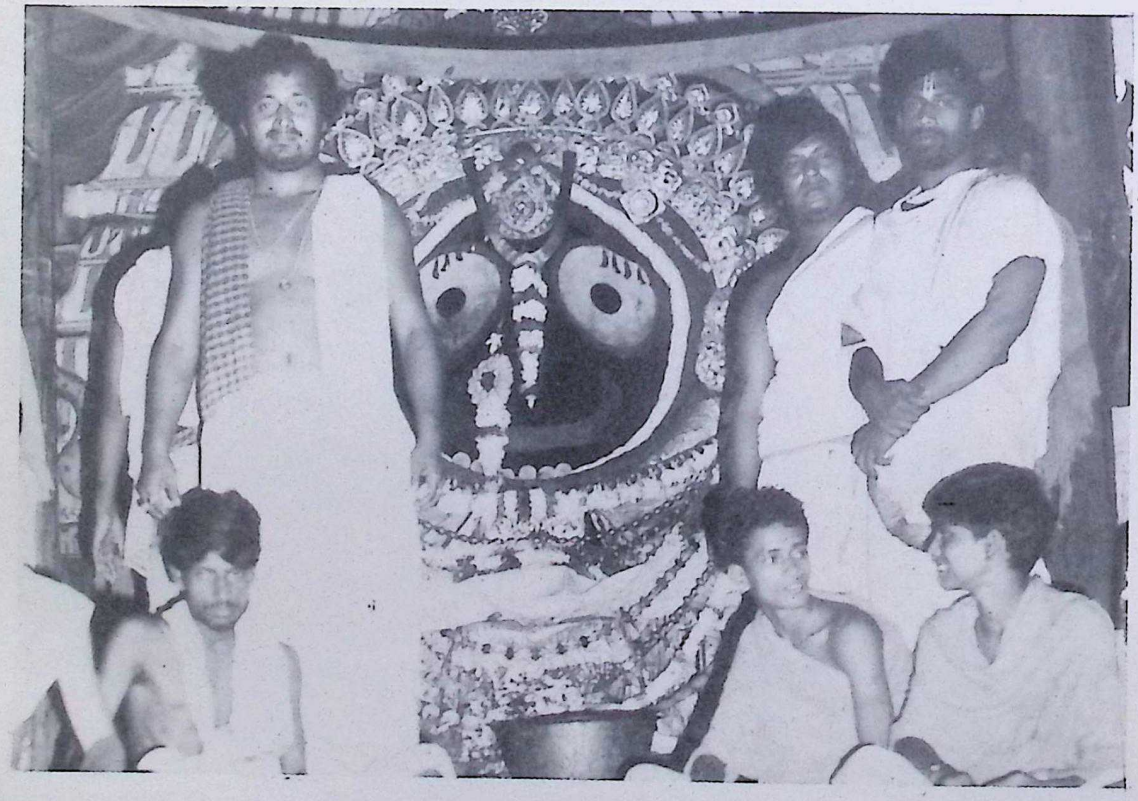
39. Pahaṇḍi of Jagannātha with Mukuṭa (during Bāhuḍā), Puri.



40. Sunāveśa of Lord Jagannātha, Puri.

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41. Sunāveśa of Balabhadra, Puri.

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42. Sunāveśa of Subhadrā, Puri.

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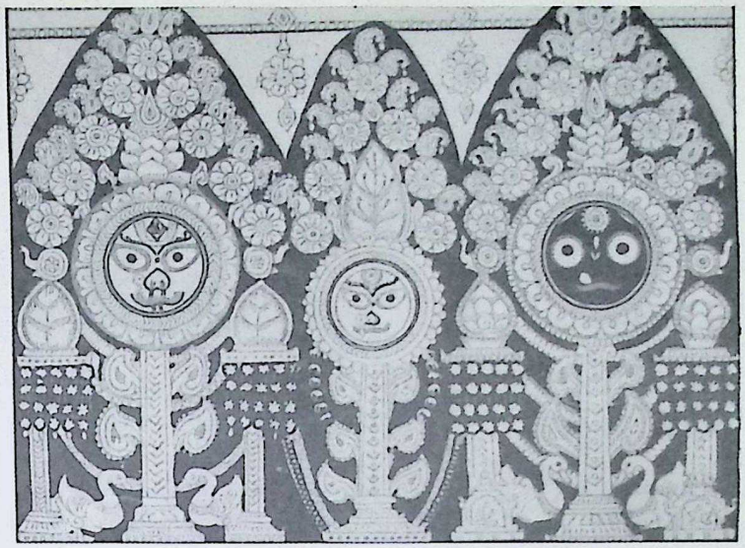
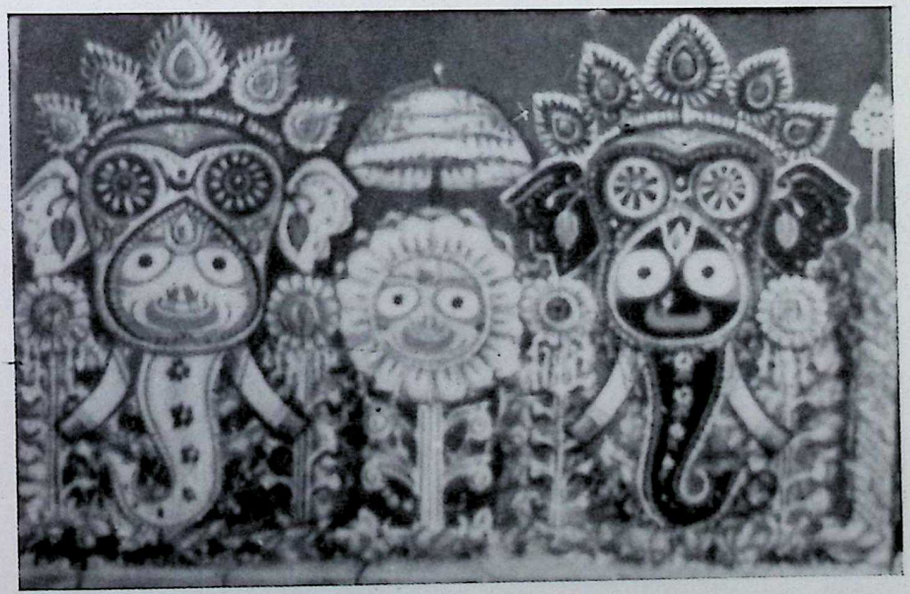


43. Padmaveśa of Lord Jagannātha, Puri.



44. Hātīvesa of Lord Jagannātha, Puri.

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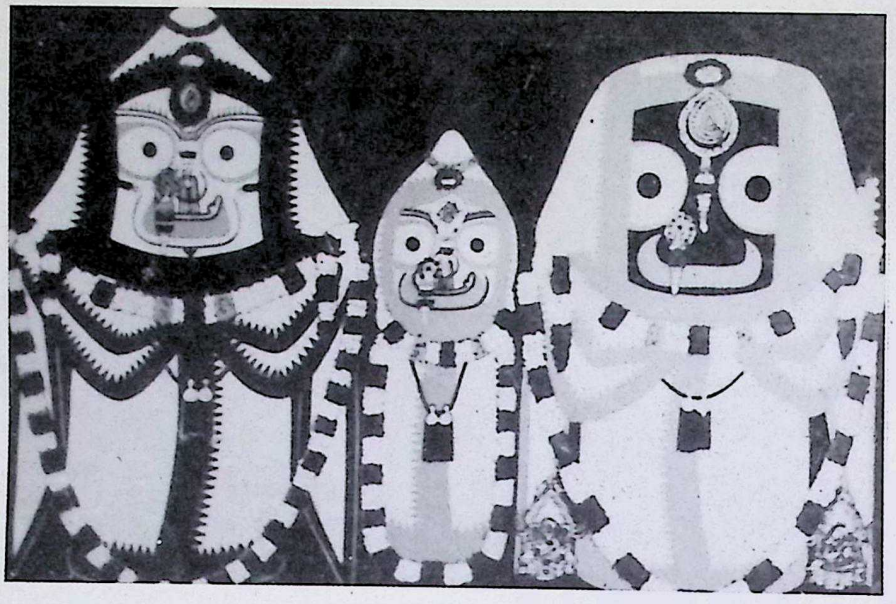
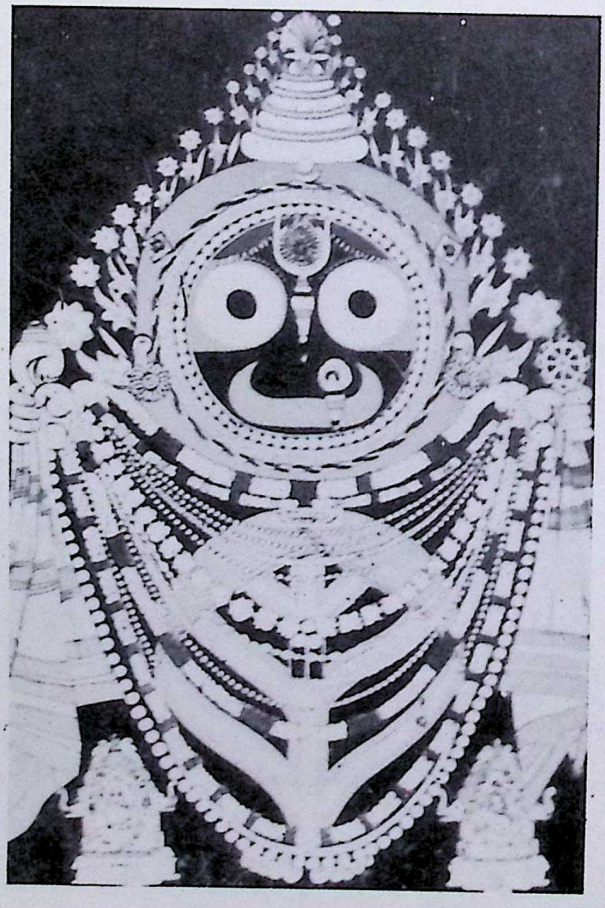


45. Śraddhāveśa of Lord Jagannātha, Puri.



46. Trivikāraveśa of Lord Jagannātha Puri.

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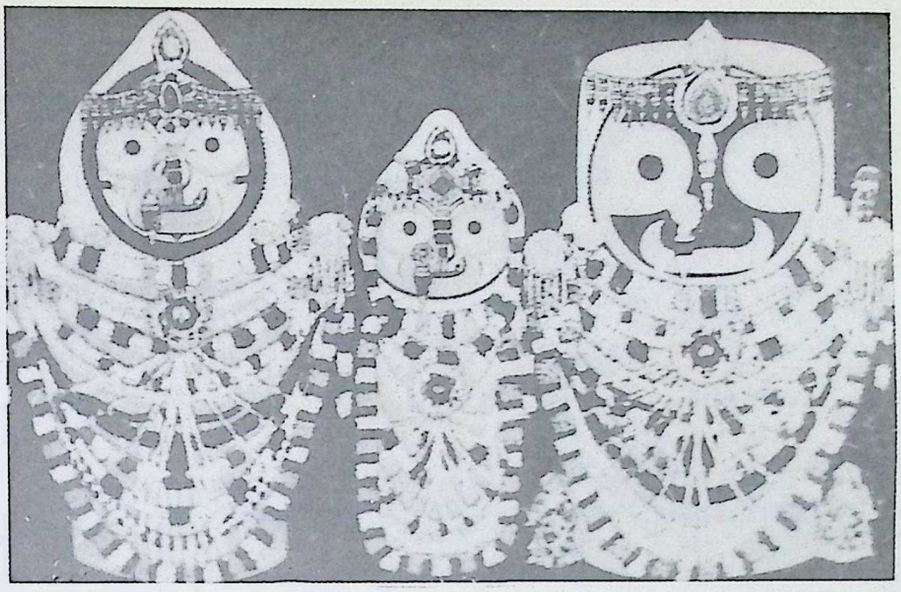
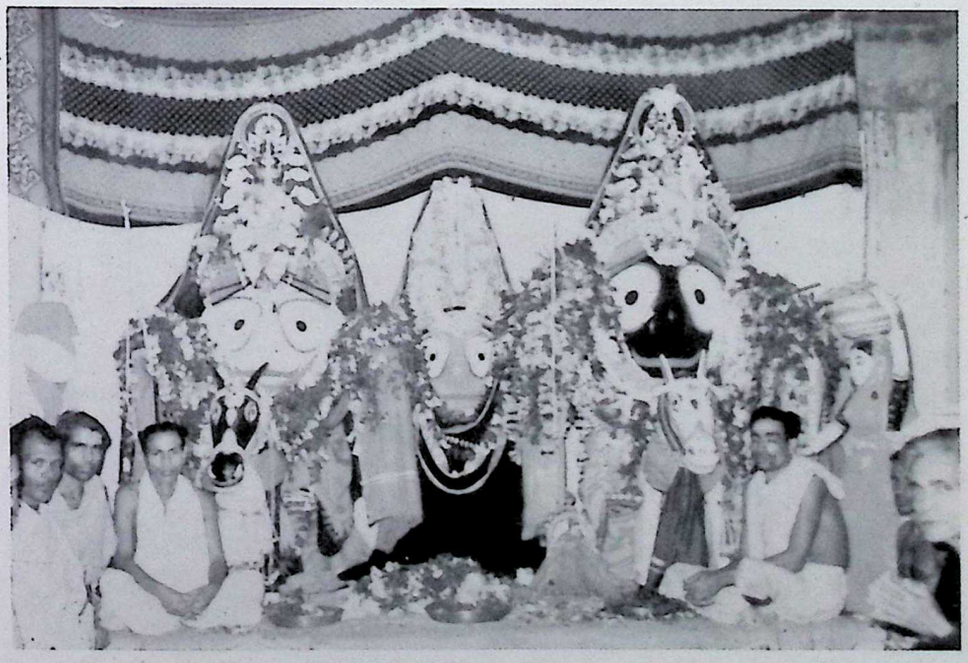


47. Baḍasiṅgāravesa of Lord Jagannātha, Puri.



48. Kāñcī Abhijāna Veśa of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā, Nayagarh, Puri.

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49. Garuḍa-Govinda Veśa of Lord Jagannātha, Nayagarh, Puri.

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festivals associated with the worship of the Lord as recorded in the purāṇa. Besides, she has also described a unique ceremony of the 'Birth' and 'Death' of the 'Lord of the Universe', known as '*Navakalevara*' — the new embodiment, which is observed for the periodical renewal of the wooden images of the deities in the Jagannātha Temple.

The author has also provided valuable information of the historical geography of the then Orissa and a vivid account of kingship, dress, ornaments, customs and rituals of the contemporary society, as enlightened in the purāṇa.

The present work is a significant contribution and supplies many new and meticulous facts to the field of Jagannātha Cult.

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Dr. (Mrs.) Bidyut Lata Ray, born on 19th August 1947, is a Ph. D. from Utkal University, and teaching as Reader & Head, Department of Sanskrit, Nayagarh College, Orissa. A good number of her research papers on the topics of Jagannātha Cult and Vedic and Purāṇic Studies have been published in various scholarly journals and anthologies. Her fields of interest are Veda, Purāṇa and Comparative Religion. She is now working on a research project "Geographical Aspects of the Vedas", sponsored by U.G.C., New Delhi.

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